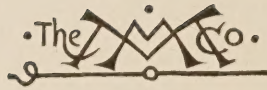


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HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS
OF
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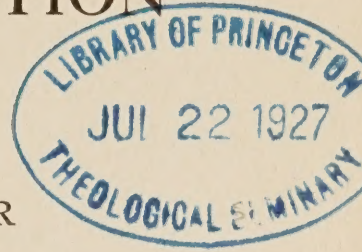
HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EDUCATION

BY

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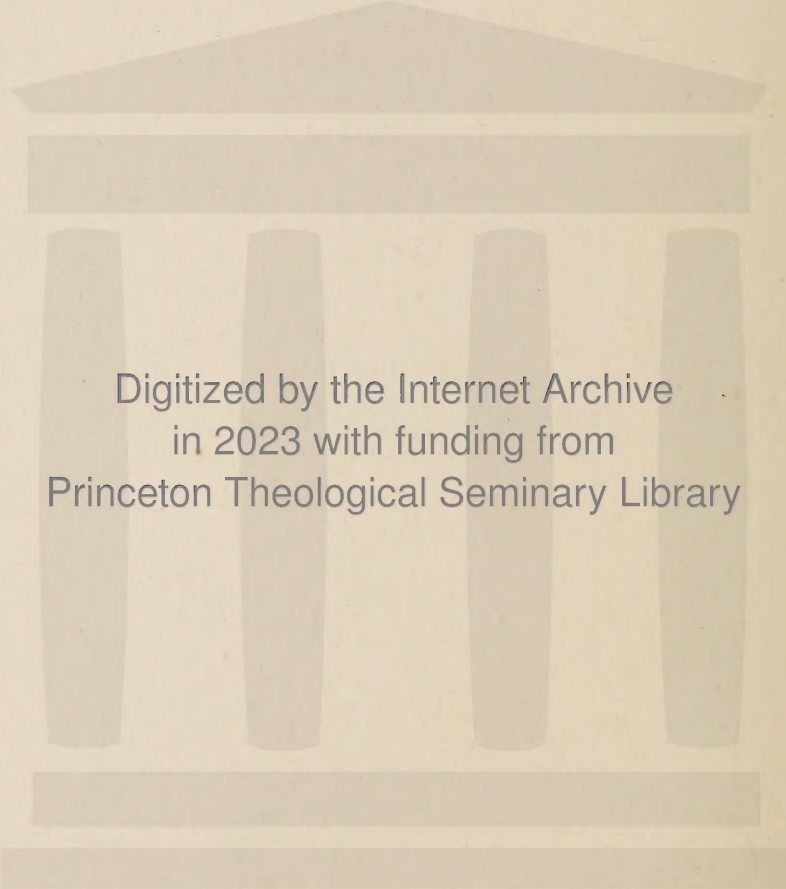
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TO
ELIZABETH JOHNSON REISNER



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PREFACE

THIS book represents a selection of materials which the writer has found useful in his own teaching of the history of education. For some years it has been in large part the subject of class lectures and discussions and has been put in permanent form so as to be more available to students.

The basis of selection throughout has been to take those aspects of the past which are essential both for an understanding of the developing Western tradition and practice of education and for a broad comprehension of many essential educational problems of the present day. This policy of selection has resulted in the elimination of much material which has customarily been included in textbooks in the history of education, and in the placing of relatively greater emphasis upon certain phases of the past which have been either slighted or altogether neglected. An example in point may be taken from the treatment in the book of the development of Christianity. Here an effort has been made to describe primitive Christianity as a religion and to point out how certain intellectual and psychological elements in the course of the first three centuries of our era came to be a constituent part of the Christian dogma and way of life. It is absolutely essential for a true comprehension of many points of active controversy

in current education that we should understand the way in which those intellectual elements and those psychological viewpoints entered into the dominant intellectual and moral rule of Western life — much more important, indeed, than to know the details of the education of catechumens. As a result, considerable space is given to the evolution of Christian belief, while the catechumenal school as such is not stressed, for the reason that it was a relatively insignificant and wholly temporary episode.

A further characteristic of this treatment is the determined effort to see education as one element in the cross-section of life as a whole. The organization of schools and the subject matter of instruction are treated throughout as related to the organization of society and the intellectual needs of given times. For this reason, much more space has been devoted to sociological considerations than has been customary in histories of education, and an attempt has been made to develop in an elementary way the general historical background against which the more specific educational interest must be projected if it is to be understood.

At the end of each chapter is given a selected bibliography which may serve teachers and students for a more extended development of topics which are briefly treated or only hinted at in the text. The function of a text, in the writer's opinion, should be to present major developments and to invite the student to generous reading of scholarly works and of original educational sources. If the student is stimulated through the intrinsic interest and the

vitality of a companion-book to range widely among great authors, more has been accomplished than when a single book presents him in tabloid form with all the facts relating to given topics or periods. It is intended that this book shall be used as a point of departure for further study rather than as a manual containing an exhaustive collection of facts.

The narrative is limited to the story of Western culture and education and begins with the Greeks of the Homeric Age. It concludes with the full recovery of the classical heritage in the sixteenth century and the making over of secondary education upon the model of Greek and Latin schools. With that accomplishment it seems that a comprehensive unit of Western educational history has been completed, since thereafter new intellectual and social forces come into play which tend as they develop to transcend and in many ways even to oppose the ancient tradition. No effort is made in this book to follow the educational developments of sixteenth century Europe to their manifestation in the American colonies. That may properly be left to a prospective volume which will take up the story of Western education where this one leaves off and in which adequate attention may be given to the characteristic social conditions in which American education has had its setting.

The writer is under obligation to the following publishers for permission to quote passages which are properly attributed in the text: the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University; the Cambridge University Press; the Clarendon Press, Oxford; the Columbia University Press;

Ginn and Company ; G. P. Putnam's Sons ; Charles Scribner's Sons ; and the University of Wisconsin Press. Professor David Eugene Smith and Mr. George A. Plimpton generously allowed the use of illustrations from their private collections. Other illustrations were secured from the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Avery Library of Columbia University, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Public Library, the Teachers College Library, the Cambridge University Press, the Columbia University Press, and Macmillan and Co. Ltd. of London. For all which friendly aid the author makes thankful acknowledgment.

Miss Frances Marguerite Clarke has given substantial help in the preparation of the illustrations and in the reading of proof. Professor Gonzalez Lodge has been extremely generous in responding to the writer's call for assistance on various phases of the history and literature of classical antiquity. Professor I. L. Kandel, Professor Wyllistine Goodsell, Professor Edgar W. Knight, Professor Fletcher Harper Swift, and Mr. John S. Brubacher have made valued suggestions regarding specific points of treatment. To all these and to many others whose help has contributed materially in the preparation of this book, the writer is profoundly grateful.

EDWARD H. REISNER

NEW YORK CITY,
April 27, 1927.

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HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

OUR HOMERIC ANCESTORS AND THEIR CULTURE

The Hellenic invasion. — It is generally held among historians that the first appearance of our cultural ancestors upon the soil of Western Europe occurred about 2000 B.C. At that time a group of tribes, admitting kinship and common origin, came down out of the grasslands of central Asia and overran the peninsula which is now comprised within modern Greece and the islands of the Aegean Sea. Some groups even conquered for themselves footholds on the western coast of Asia Minor. They were on a low culture stage, probably the pastoral, in which they were still to be found for the most part when Homer pictures contemporary civilization among the Greeks about the thirteenth or eleventh century B.C. These barbarian invaders found the land which was to become their home occupied by a race possessing a relatively high cultural development as indicated by archeological remains. But the Greeks were evidently so inferior in their culture that they were unable to appropriate or adapt

to their uses the arts and skills of the conquered Aegeans.

The Greeks in the Age of Homer. — The earliest historical record of our Greek forbears is found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer. The first of these epic poems deals with a great ethnic warfare between the Greeks and the Trojans, and the second with the journey of Odysseus in his effort to reach his home on the island of Ithaca upon the conclusion of the campaign against Troy. It is probable that there was a great bard named Homer who arranged old materials of myth and legend in the undying epics named above and whose name has always continued to be associated with the works upon which his genius put a lasting stamp. Homer is thought to have lived about the year 1200 or 1000 B.C., and it is further thought that the commonplace incident and the description of persons, places, customs, and occupations to be found in the epics represent contemporary conditions of existence among the Greeks of his day. Thus while the stories about the gods and the heroes were ancient myth and legend, what he had to say about the occupations and the institutions of the Greeks were those which he knew out of his own experience. Consequently, Homer may be regarded as a fairly authentic source for notions of the culture and the education of the Greeks at about 1000 B.C.

Economic conditions in Homer's time. — The Homeric Greeks were in a cultural stage intermediate between the pastoral and the agricultural. They lived in villages, cultivated the surrounding fields,

and pastured their flocks and herds in the adjacent mountain uplands. They carried on their business through the exchange of goods, having no money system, and their wealth consisted in the quantity of gold and copper and grain, the number of sheep or cattle, and the number of garments or utensils or slaves which they possessed. The Homeric Greeks were not at home on the sea and feared long journeys on the water. They stayed at home and allowed the Phoenicians, the great traders of antiquity, to bring them the superior wares of Asiatic manufacture. Occupations were little specialized, the carpenter being practically the only artisan mentioned as carrying on a differentiated occupation. Stonemason work was unclassified labor, and every man was herdsman, farmer, craftsman, soldier, as the day's work demanded. Homer's loving description of the shield of Achilles,¹ and his detailed enumeration of the wonders of the palace and estate of King Alcinous² indicate that such artistry as was involved in the former and such a combination of luxuries as was to be found in the latter mark both off as greatly out of the ordinary run of Greek experience in Homer's day.

Political institutions. — Corresponding to this primitive economic life was an equally simple form of political administration. Several villages in a region acknowledging a common tribal tie united under the headship of a king, who was at once the leader in war, the head priest of the tribe, and the

¹ See *Iliad*, Book XVIII.

² See *Odyssey*, Book VII.

presiding officer at the tribal councils. Little removed from the king in the prestige that came from wealth and ancient lineage were the nobles, who constituted with the king the council which determined all questions of tribal policy. The absence of any strong central political power is illustrated in the inability of King Agamemnon to coerce Achilles into taking his place in the time of battle during the siege of Troy even when there was very evident need of his participation. The commoners were present at the council, but they stood on the outside with apparently only the right to accept in silent disapproval or noisy approbation the decisions of their betters. No taxes were levied, for there was no organization of government which required financial support. There was no written law and there were no courts of justice. Theft and assault were private offenses to be met as seemed best by the person wronged, and the punishment for murder was blood revenge exacted by the relatives of the dead man.

The rule of the mores. — The standard of personal worth was set by the established ways of the community. The words "*dike*" and "*themis*" expressed those ways of action which had been "pointed out" and "established." The concepts of what was right to do had had their origin in unrecorded antiquity and represented what the funded experience of centuries had established as a set of satisfactory rules of conduct. In their range these unwritten laws of conduct, for which one may substitute the word "mores" as used by present-day

anthropologists, covered every aspect of family life, property rights, and tribal obligations.

Education in Homeric times. — Corresponding to the simple social organization of our Hellenic ancestors as described above, the ways and means used to prepare the boys for participation in adult activities were unorganized and informal. There was no alphabet to master and no written language to acquire. There were no lessons in geography, history, or civics. Nevertheless there was a very real system of education for the Homeric youth and a very effective one for its purpose. Through the tales of parents and nurses, through the admonitions of elders, through the public celebrations of his tribe, and through the estimates placed upon the conduct of his fellow-tribesmen in the court of public opinion, the boy was mastering the fundamental conceptions of right and wrong that applied to his own conduct and was developing a set of attitudes that would coerce him against his individual inclinations in favor of the line of conduct favored by the tribe. In play with his fellows he was learning the arts and skills which would make him proficient in the hardy physical activities of chase and war. Through the ordinary processes of imitation and trial and error learning he was preparing himself for the successful performance of the vocational activities which he would be called on to perform in the course of the adult day's work. Through observation and participation, he learned the rites of sacrifice and worship which it would become his duty to perform as head of a family and member of a tribe. Seated at his

father's side at the feasts which were so prominent a feature of Homeric life, the growing youth would hear discussions of tribal policy and unknowingly absorb a knowledge of the unwritten laws which governed his people and constituted the standards of manly civic virtue. Under the same circumstances he would hear the songs of the minstrels and drink in from the pure stream of Homer's verse or the lines of other forgotten but hardly less competent singers the culture of his race. He would learn to kindle at the recital of the mighty deeds of ancient champions. He would become familiar with the characters of the gods and the goddesses and of the heroes, half human, half divine, from whom sprang the tribe of which he was a blood member and all the other tribes "through Hellas and Argos."

Such an education as the Homeric youth received was approved through long centuries as adequate for its purpose, namely, to bring him up to proficiency in the duties of adult life and to loyalty in his relationships as member of the community and the tribe.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING¹

I. LANG, A., LEAF, W., and MYERS, E., *The Iliad of Homer* (prose translation), Macmillan, London, 1892; BUTCHER, S. H., and LANG, A., *The Odyssey of Homer* (prose translation), Macmillan, London, 1924; PALMER, G. H., *Odyssey* (prose translation) Houghton Mifflin Co.,

¹ The arrangement of the "Suggestions for Further Reading" represents to some extent the author's notion of the desirable order to be followed by the student in his approach to the subject dealt with in

1908. — Nothing will serve so well for reproducing the conditions of Homer's times as a reading of his own works.

2. KELLER, A. G., *Homeric Society*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1902. — This is a systematic account of society in Homer's day.

3. SEYMOUR, T. D., *Life in the Homeric Age*, Macmillan, 1907. — A more detailed study of the Homeric period.

the chapter. Works treating the period or topic in such a way as to provide political, economic, and intellectual background for educational conditions are placed first in order, and of such works the more elementary precede the more extensive and thorough accounts. Works dealing in a systematic way with educational history come next. Special treatments of particular topics, biographies, source materials, and works in foreign languages are placed last, without any effort at arrangement. The characterization following the title of each work, if not the title itself, may serve as a guide to the reader's interest.

CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF FIVE HUNDRED YEARS, 1000-509 B.C.

A social and cultural revolution. — For the purposes of this narrative it does not seem essential to trace out in great detail the sociological and cultural changes that occurred among our Hellenic forbears in the period of five hundred years following the age of Homer. It is very important, however, that we should sense the thoroughgoing revolution in the Greek way of life which took place within that time. At the beginning of the period the Greeks were an exploited culture group dependent on their Asiatic neighbors for the finer art products of every sort; at the end of it they were the greatest traders of the Mediterranean world, carrying their inimitable wares to the lower culture groups which lived on the frontiers of civilization. In 1000 B.C. the Greeks were following the rule of the mores under a hereditary aristocratic form of tribal government; in 509 B.C. the city-state had developed as the universal pattern of political government, and in Athens, at least, the government had been consigned through a written constitution to the control of all the citizens. In 1000 B.C. the only literary form was the epic poem; in 509 B.C. various types of literary expression had been elaborated, philosophy was in

process of rapid development, and the greatest century of intellectual activity in the first twenty-five centuries of our Western tradition was just being ushered in. In 1000 B.C. the Greeks were without a written language and a school; in 509 B.C. they had a formal system of literary education and had consciously organized their educational institutions in the service of the state. These and many other changes no less considerable constitute the subject of more intimate consideration in the present chapter.

Changes in economic life.— We have seen the Homeric Greeks unskilled in navigation and afraid of the sea, but this condition did not continue. They became inventive shipwrights, improving the traditional seacraft in size and power and seaworthiness, and adding sails. In their better ships they became competent, if not daring, seamen. The Greeks of Homer's day were dependent upon the older civilizations to the East for their manufactured wares, but they soon ceased to be in the position of industrial inferiority. They borrowed the arts and skills of their neighbors and improved upon them. They became a great industrial people, buying and selling in the commercial marts and carrying their goods to every part of the Mediterranean coast. No longer was the system of barter adequate to their enlarged commercial operations and they began the practice of printing coins for use in exchange. This brought into existence a new kind of wealth, namely, capital wealth, and produced a new class of rich men who depended for their social

position, not upon ancient lineage and landed property, but upon riches recently won in industrial pursuits.

Social trends of the period. — From our knowledge of the profound change which has been brought about in Western society by the development of the factory system in the last century and a half, we are prepared to expect fundamental changes in Greek society as the result of the industrial revolution which took place in the period under discussion. The old, easy-going way of life, half pastoral, half agricultural, was gone, and with it had gone the stable social classifications of old tradition and the comparatively equitable sway of the ancient "mores." The rich became richer and the poor became poorer. The rich extended their control over government and social institutions to the disadvantage of their less fortunate fellow-citizens. Many of the latter of the class of freemen drifted into a condition of servitude, while others forsook the homeland and sailed overseas to make new homes for themselves on the frontier of the Greek world. A cityward trend of the population set in as the commercial and industrial life became of increasing importance. There was also taking place a large proportionate increase in the total population of slaves, who were coming very generally to be the "hands" of industrial and commercial enterprise.

The industrial change just described had a profound influence on the Greek attitude toward manual labor. In the primitive Homeric days, there was very general participation in the performance of the

common duties of everyday life. As in all frontier societies, there was so much of rude, hard work to be done that each did his share more or less as a matter of course. Nausicaa, the daughter of a king, loads the family wash into a mule cart in the company of her maidens and assists in the humble processes of wash day beside the shore of the sea. When the clothes are cleansed, the maidens all engage in a friendly game of ball. Penelope, the wife of the hero Odysseus, although enjoying the crude plenty of the manorial home in Ithaca, spends her spare time in weaving. Generally speaking, manual work was accepted as a matter of course among the Homeric Greeks, and men of substance took their part in the hard duties of farmstead and field. Moreover, the smith, the carpenter, the man skilled in any art, was held in honor as one who made special contributions to the welfare of the social group.

As manual labor became specialized, however, and came to be performed more and more exclusively by slaves, or at least by persons in a social position recognized as inferior, a very definite stigma came to be attached to it. As *manual* work came to be performed by *menials*, manual work came to be regarded as menial. This connotation of inferiority as attached to manual labor became ingrained in Greek judgments of worth and finally was rationalized and made absolute in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. The criterion of worth came progressively to be associated with financial independence and the possession of free time which might be

devoted to political activities and social intercourse among men of like fortunate circumstances.

The development of the Greek city-state. — The economic revolution which took place in the Greek world between 1000 and 509 B.C. had also its profound influence upon the forms of political association. The new “bourgeois” nobility came to be more powerful in the transformed community than the hereditary and “legitimate” king and gradually dispossessed him of his traditional powers and took them over to themselves. With their new influence they disregarded the tribal mores which had carried with them a rough sort of justice under simpler conditions of existence, or they interpreted these mores altogether in their own favor. In the course of time, the dissatisfaction of the masses became conscious and articulate and was finally organized under the leadership of certain ambitious individuals who sought under the name of tyrant the power of the ancient kings and who promised to the many who followed them redress of their grievances. In Athens, at least, the adoption of the phalanx of foot soldiers as the unit of military organization made the common man more important than he had been when the mounted soldiers were central in military strategy. This became an important determinant of the political importance of the citizen and was influential in bringing about the democratic constitution of Cleisthenes in 509 B.C. What has been said here of the evolution of political organization applies roughly to most of the Greek world, although it applies particularly to Athens.

The economic revolution led to the increase of contacts and relationships throughout Hellas and with both the older civilizations to the east and the lower culture groups to the north and west. Mother states began to take more interest in colonial offshoots both as markets for finished goods and as sources of raw materials and foodstuffs. Differences of institutions led to self-conscious comparisons among the autonomous tribal units, and increase of wealth led to more extensive measures for self-protection. By such means the political pattern of the Greek world had developed by the sixth century B.C. into a settled form of small-unit organization. Each considerable concentration of population, with its walls and its strongly fortified citadel was the center of the commercial, political, and cultural life of an independent political group. It controlled a surrounding area of rural territory and had certain claims upon frontier settlements or colonies. This area and population constituted a Greek city-state. As has generally been the case with small pattern political organizations, the points of contact between two sovereignties were foci of irritation and as a result the Greek world was in a constant state of military excitement. Wars heightened enmities and rivalries among the separate states and at the same time tended to develop a high degree of loyalty to own tribe and of conscious pride in local institutions and traditions. Military service was a common and natural obligation of the citizen and, as long as the city-state endured as the expression of such political life, was

central in the systems of education developed in the various sovereignties. No less important in the system of city-state education was the inculcation of habits and attitudes of loyalty upon the youths who were in adult years to be soldiers in the army of their city-state and the active determiners of its political policies.

Changes in the intellectual life. — One might well expect that changes so extensive and profound as the foregoing in the way of life of the Hellenes should have their counterpart in the realms of taste and intellect. The Greeks of the sixth century B.C. were living in a much broader world and a much more intricate world than that which their Homeric ancestors lived in. It possessed more that served as a challenge to imagination and thought because filled with more experiences and more problems. The far-wandering traders of the later time brought back knowledge of distant peoples and other and sometimes more advanced civilizations. They learned arts and crafts from the older Near-Eastern peoples — the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians. They borrowed aggressively, and persistently improved what they thus gained. In the field of the practical arts they added artistic and technical refinements, and many practical arts in their hands became insensibly transformed into theoretical sciences. They took the primitive Phoenician alphabet for use as trade marks and for purpose of record in business, and through the addition of vowels made it a flexible medium for the interchange of the widest possible range of human

experience. A further example of the way in which the Greeks went beyond their Oriental neighbors is to be found in their adaptation of the Babylonian knowledge of astronomy. The Babylonians, from a religious motive, were interested in the phenomena of the heavens, and in the *Saros* they had a record extending back through centuries of the eclipses of the moon and the sun. By the recognition of recurring cycles they were thus able to predict the time of future eclipses with considerable accuracy. Thales, a great Greek traveler, who is also known as the father of Western philosophy, is said to have predicted an eclipse of the sun in the seventh century, presumably through familiarity with Babylonian astronomy. But neither he nor his successors were satisfied simply to be able to predict an eclipse; they immediately began to set up theories regarding the shape, the position, and the movements of the heavenly bodies which would give a rational explanation of the phenomenon.

As an additional case in point, the Greeks, particularly through the activities of a group known as the Pythagorean School, which was active in the sixth century B.C., borrowed the practical mathematical knowledge which had long been in the possession of the Egyptians. Owing to the annual overflow of the Nile which obliterated landmarks under a layer of mud in the rich Nile Valley, the Egyptians had developed a considerable command over practical geometry and trigonometry as used in land surveying. The "streptikoi," or rope-knotters, had discovered a practical formula for

establishing a true right-angled corner. But their art remained on the level of that of the practical carpenter or stonemason among us to-day who finds a rightangle by stretching a tape in the form of a triangle with sides of ten, eight, and six feet. If this has been done accurately, the angle opposite the ten-foot side is a true right angle. One who can recall his knowledge of elementary geometry knows that the carpenter has reproduced the conditions of the Pythagorean theorem, which informs us that the square of the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides. The Egyptian seemed never to get beyond the *practice* of geometry. He was satisfied with successful results and a rule-of-thumb performance. Among the Greeks, on the other hand, at least by the sixth century B.C., were certain men who perhaps were little interested in the practical applications of the theorem, but who could not rest until they had solved the pretty puzzle. They "wanted to know" just what there was about the nature of spatial relationships which caused that particular formula so inevitably to bring the same result. And thus they busied themselves on the theoretical side of the practical arts involving quantity and number and laid the foundations for the science of mathematics.

So much may be taken to illustrate the fact that during the centuries between Homer and Cleisthenes, the Greeks were in close communication with the older and more advanced civilizations to the east and south of them and that they not only appropriated for their own use what they saw to be service-

able, but constantly improved upon what they thus took over.

New forms of literary expression. — In the days of Homer, the epic poem was the only form of literature, if one may be allowed to use that name to describe a vehicle of expression which preceded the use of an alphabet and the art of writing. The epic dealt with divine and heroic personages and with themes noble and often far distant in point of time. Its measures were dignified and simple as befitted the experiences which it celebrated and the public or semi-public occasions upon which it was called into use. The epic was practiced by a guild of minstrels, and to be an accomplished minstrel demanded long and assiduous application for the memorizing of the poems and the mastery of musical accompaniment. With the development of an alphabet and the adoption of writing as an art possessed by many, new forms of literary expression came into existence. Thoughtful men looked abroad upon the injustices which accompanied the maladjustments of a changing social order and wrote out their thoughts in the form of elegiac verse for the instruction and the improvement of their generation. Philosophers, reflecting upon first causes and general principles, put into verse for the consideration of their friends the ideas which came to them in their seclusion. Men, and even women, as witness the divine Sappho of the Isle of Lesbos, intrusted to writing their inner loves and longings. One would compose a drinking song for the enjoyment of a little group of boon companions, while still another would

write a stirring martial song for the use of his fellow-citizens in some military crisis. Thus there came into existence, in response to the new and stimulating experiences of a more intense and intricate environment, practically all the verse forms which have been successively imitated by the Latins and every modern nation of the Western World.

Still another type of literary expression deserves mention, namely, the drama, because it illustrates as does almost no other the sheer creative power of the centuries which we are considering.¹ From time immemorial the Greeks had celebrated at certain seasons of the year their worship of Dionysus. Dionysus was the god of wine and good cheer, the patron deity of the vine, who was represented as undergoing hardships and meeting adventures in his travels over all the known world. One of the occasions when all the villagers would assemble for the worship of this god was the springtime when the leaves were again beginning to appear on the vines. We can think of this celebration as being in ancient times the disorderly efforts of a rural mob, who had dressed themselves in goatskins so as to represent the better those beings, half-goat, half-man, which were said to have accompanied Dionysus in his travels and shared in his adventures. Each after his own prompting, these rustic revelers acted and spoke as best they could in the spirit of the occasion.

¹ In the ensuing description the writer has followed closely the account of Jebb in his *Primer of Greek Literature*. The student should read Jebb's inimitable account for himself.

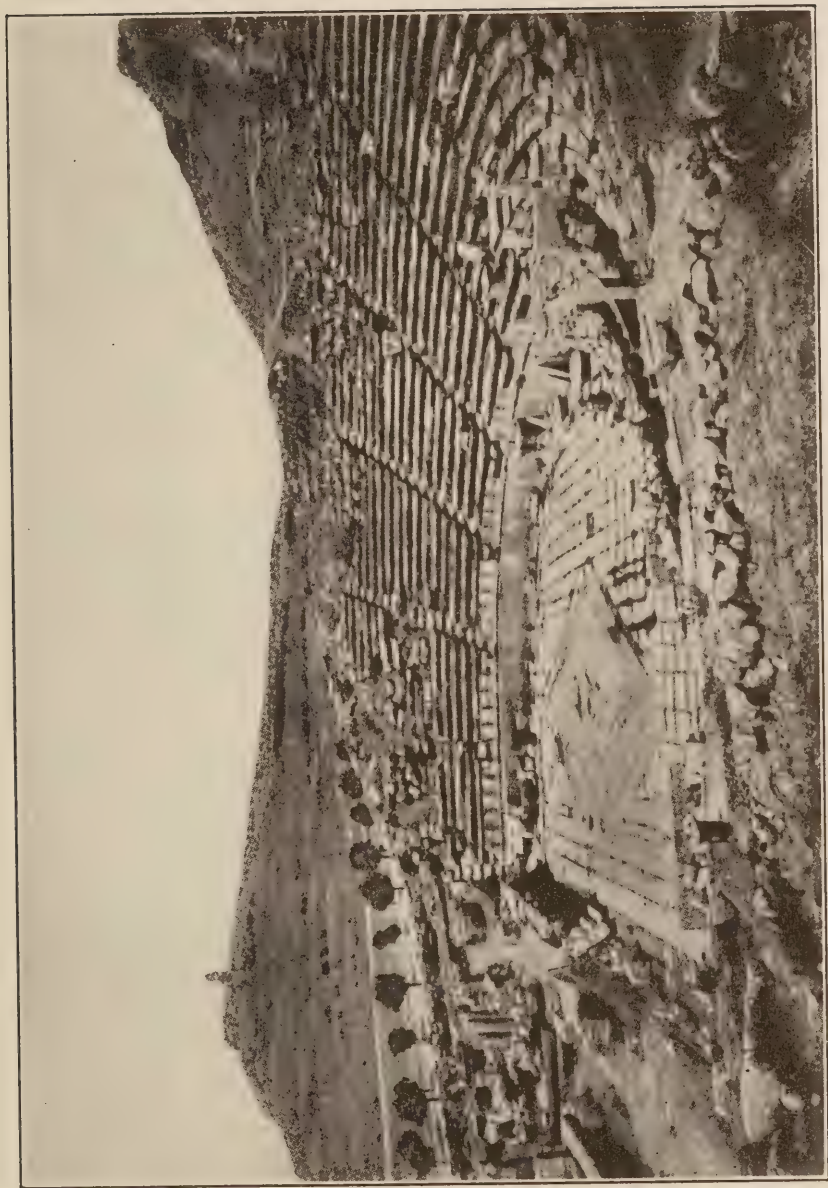


Fig. 1. — Ruins of the theater of Dionysus at Athens

In the course of time a refinement of this crude pageantry occurred through the designation of one man to represent the god or a messenger from him, who told the story of his adventures to the accompaniment of appropriate vocal and bodily responses on the part of the crowd, who now constituted a rude chorus. From this stage of its development the worship of Dionysus branched off into two separate lines to become tragedy and comedy. Tragedy dealt always with elevated themes in which the element of moral conflict was characteristically present, while comedy dealt with local personages and contemporary events in lighter vein.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. great improvement took place in the literary quality of these performances. The words spoken by the actor came to be prepared for him in advance, as also was the case with the responses offered by the chorus. The latter were given a regular lyric form and the chorus was reduced in number to fifty, who were trained in their parts and grouped in a circle about the altar. Additional refinements came in the designation of one of the chorus to answer the actor on the stage, and in the later selection of three actors who should carry on among themselves the dramatic narrative. The chorus came, also, to appear at different times in different characters. With these changes the form of the drama was complete and ready to the hand of the master playwrights of the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C.

The beginnings of philosophy. — The primitive Greeks were curious about the origins of existence

and about the hidden causes that underlay the phenomena and the processes of everyday life. They ventured their explanations of these things in terms of some story about a divine being, as for example, they explained the diurnal passage of the sun by the myth of Apollo in his chariot of fire, driving Castor and Pollux across the heavens. They explained the change of the seasons in terms of the myth of Demeter and her daughter Persephone, who was captured by Hades, the god of the underworld. But there came a time when these myths were no longer held to explain anything, and when men sought for an understanding of the existence, the transition, and the disappearance of natural phenomena in terms of rational principles or concepts. They refused any longer to accept a fanciful tale, however appealing in its beauty of conception, as a substitute for a reasonable theory. There are a number of men, such as Thales, Anaximander, Pythagoras, and others, who lived during the period under discussion, who are usually thought of as sufficiently important in the history of philosophy to be given separate mention, and whose theories, in so far as we have them, are there expounded at some length. The student who wishes to do so may follow up the details of this development in histories of philosophy; it is sufficient for our purposes to recognize the fact that a small handful of the Greeks before the opening of the sixth century had turned away from that general type of intellectual attitude which is characteristic of all the peoples who have lived through unrecorded time

and had taken the first steps in that type of creative thinking in which lies the future of the human race.

The status of women. — In the centuries that followed Homeric times, the status of women in Greek society became steadily less honorable and important. Homer's pictures of women in general give us the impression of the high esteem in which they were held and of the importance of their social functions. They enjoyed a large measure of freedom and exhibited refreshing individuality. But the woman of the early sixth century B.C. was already fast sinking into a condition of Oriental dependence and seclusion. The world of urban fashion was coming to be more and more a man's world, and from the developing circles of art and science the wives were progressively excluded. Their province was coming to be the rearing of children and the management of household affairs.

Education in Sparta: The subordination of the individual to civic ends. — Much that has been said about the development of the Greek world during the five hundred years or more following the age of Homer applies but little or not at all to Sparta. Sparta did not undergo any significant change in its economic life, for from first to last it was an agricultural state. Its political forms were settled early in its history and throughout it remained the persistent foe of democracy. Sparta was indifferent to literary developments and unfriendly to philosophical speculation. Its main claim to our attention rests upon the fact that Sparta developed a system

of education which represents a thoroughgoing devotion to the ends of the city-state.

The Spartans had probably completed their conquest of the southeastern part of the Aegean peninsula by the eleventh century B.C. and had settled down to live among the native population which they had reduced to slavery. Outnumbered probably five to one by their unwilling serfs, it was necessary for the Spartans to maintain at all times an efficient military organization. This necessity of constant military preparedness is reflected very definitely in the system of government which is said by tradition to have been proposed to the Spartans by Lycurgus during the ninth century B.C. This interesting bit of law-giving took it for granted that the object of the proposed government was to preserve the *status quo*. The Spartans were to continue to live as the military garrison in the midst of the much larger population of agricultural serfs. The citizen was to have no property outside of his allotment from the proceeds of the state property in land. There were possibilities of alienating such allotment, but the man who was ordinarily prudent could be sure of a steady income from the state, adequate to all his normal needs. Throughout his boyhood and youth and well into manhood the citizen lived in barracks and kept up his military skill through constant practice, and it was only after the age of fifty that he was entitled to the enjoyment of a private life in a home of his own.

The system of education which was followed in Sparta was determined from first to last by the mili-

tary necessities of that city-state. The system laid its hand upon the infant at the hour of birth and decreed that only such as were regarded as likely, because of physical perfection, to become good soldiers, should be preserved and nurtured as prospective members of the ruling military society. From birth to about the age of seven, the boy lived with his mother at home. He was then taken to live,

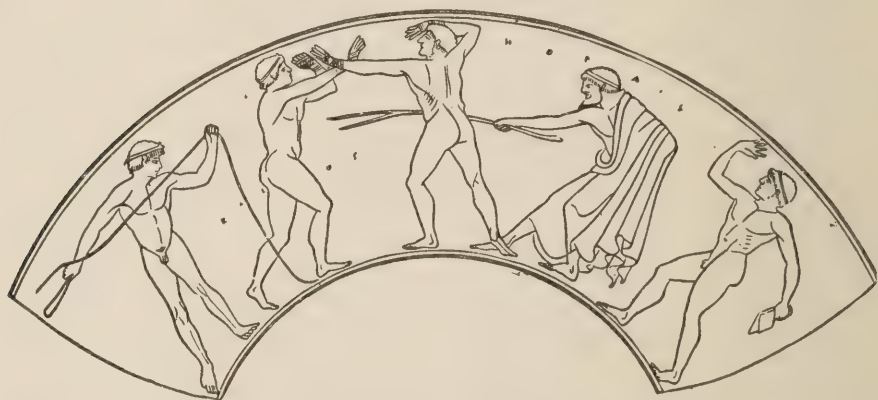


Fig. 2. — Youths practicing the pentathlon. A red-figured painting on a cylix, or drinking cup, of the early fifth century B.C. Taken from Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquity*, Macmillan, London. The youth on the left holds a line with which he has been measuring a broad-jump. The two youths in the center are boxing while the trainer at their right is acting as referee and is ready to punish a foul with a stroke of the pronged stick which he carries. The youth at the extreme right is carrying jumping weights in his left hand.

in company with other boys of his own age and older, under the control of the state in barracks or company rooms, and from this all-encompassing control of the state there was no relaxation until he had achieved the mature age of thirty years.

Certainly not in the first few centuries after the adoption of this system of education by the Spartans was any attention paid to literary elements, and even

down to the end, when a literary education was a matter of course for all boys among other Greek city-states, the literary element in the training of a Spartan boy was a disappearing minimum. The stress was laid first, last, and all the time upon those exercises which promised to develop physical strength and physical courage. Physical exercises that called for dogged endurance or pluck; plays and games



Fig. 3. — Opposite side of the cylix pictured in Figure 2. At the left are two youths wrestling, with a trainer at their side. The young men on the right are assisting in a jumping game of some sort. The one with the pick is loosening the sand in the jumping pit, while the other is prepared to measure a jump.

that brought out elements of hardness, even of ferocity — these were the disciplines out of which soldiers were to be created. Corresponding to this military apprenticeship, was a system of unrelenting inculcation of a set of ready-made and conservative moral attitudes. The boy lived in the midst of a network of barrack-room standards of personal conduct and of besieged-citadel loyalties. By every known means of emulation, shame, deprivation, and punishment, the boy was tutored throughout his

waking hours over a period of twenty-odd years in the moral standards and attitudes which he was to adopt as his own. The result was a fairly good fighting man, who would fight when told to do so and would die fighting rather than retreat. He had the attitude toward authority which the ordinary private soldier of long years of service has in our armies to-day. He could have had little initiative as a citizen, and in his spiritual attitudes and accomplishments he must have been a child at fifty. He fitted admirably into an oligarchical system of political government which was hardly more than a military distribution of authority in a permanent army post.

The Spartan girl was important to the state because she was to become the mother of future soldiers. Her body deserved development into health and hardihood, which it received through outdoor sports and games. Of her mental and moral equipment little needs to be said. It was much the same as that of the man by whom she was to become the mother of young Spartans. It may be said of the Spartans that they did not exhibit that change in their attitude toward women which in Athens and other parts of the Greek world was tending to inclose wives within the walls of harems. To the end of Spartan independence the woman continued to enjoy a degree of freedom and responsibility which was due her for the important biological and educational functions which she performed.

There is not a great deal about the educational system of Sparta which needs detain us. Sparta

remained to the end as she was in the beginning of her history — an interesting example of the revenge wrought upon her for an original and continued act of inhumanity. Their enslavement of the conquered population was the cause of the voluntary and lasting enslavement of the Spartans to their unchanging institutions and their hard and barren military discipline. It is not a matter of surprise that the Spartans were able to endure so long in the atmosphere of Hellenic animosities. They were to an exceptional degree self-subsistent and independent. They had a narrow objective of social organization and hence one that was easily achieved. For after all, it is a comparatively simple matter to put a boy into a military organization at the age of seven and at the age of thirty to find him “goose-stepping” like all the rest. It is a comparatively easy matter to shape a child’s loyalties, when aided by all the agencies of public worship in a society yet in the age of unquestioning faith, to the loves and prejudices of those with whom alone he comes in contact.

From certain standpoints the Spartan system of education may be regarded as having been efficient, for it prepared the youth for the functions which he was to perform as an adult. The Spartan practices show us that a population can be dragooned into certain set expectations with reference to their attitudes and conduct. But the example of Sparta also convinces us that the objectives of their system of education were not sufficiently broad or generous to have ultimate value and that their apparent success was actual failure.

Education in Athens: The development of the citizen in the individual. — If in Sparta has been seen the thoroughgoing domination of the individual on the part of the state, in Athens may be observed a double objective of education involving great attention to the development of the individual along free lines. To be sure, the educational system of Athens before the sixth century B.C. did not in any wise overlook the supreme importance of education for civic ends. The controlling purpose of education was the development of the youth into an adult who would be prepared to undertake with success his civic obligations. But in Athens the meaning of citizenship was immeasurably broader than it was in Sparta. In Sparta we have seen how the function of citizen became practically identical with that of soldier, owing to the peculiar circumstances of Spartan society. In Athens, the population was engaged in the multifarious pursuits of a commercial and industrial society; war was more incidental and certainly not the main business of life; there was abundance of leisure time; and there was always in Athens a sufficiently numerous minority who were interested in satisfying means of spending this leisure time so that the things of the spirit received attention and were held in esteem. The Athenian was no less citizen than was the Spartan, but as citizen he was more than soldier, bringing to the performance of his broader civic duties a wider range of preparedness and finding the cultivation of his leisure hours not incompatible with the success of his private business nor with performance of public

offices. If in Sparta the state controlled the goings and comings of its adults until past middle age as well as it looked after the education of the youth, in Athens there was a strongly contrasting amount of freedom for the individual. Perhaps there is no example in Western history of so complete an absence of control over the intellectual development of a people as in the case of Athens. This was due to the fact that here there was no religious hierarchy interested in maintaining a set form of intellectual belief, while at the same time the ruling classes were those among whom the new intellectual attitudes were taking form. In the later days of the complete democracy there occurred spasmodic efforts to repress intellectual freedom, as in the case of the trial and condemnation of Socrates, but in the earlier period, the one under consideration, such intellectual novelties as had been introduced — new forms of literature, new developments of science, and the beginnings of the rational mode of looking at life — were but interesting additions to the leisure time resources of the upper-class Athenians.

The literary element in Athenian education. — The first use of the alphabet among the Greeks was thought to have been as trade-marks for manufactured wares, and the first use of written language was for business correspondence and records. By the year 624 B.C. the Athenians had progressed in the use of writing to the point where it was called into requisition for the definite statement of the laws, as arranged by Draco, and from that time on we may think of a written language as entering fully into the

public life of Athens and the private life of Athenian citizens. It is probable that the general use of written language called into existence the school, where the art might be acquired, at least as early as the seventh century. There is little exact knowledge of the organization of the work of the school in this early period, but it is practically certain that it centered upon the reading of Homer and the



Fig. 4. — Scenes in a Music School, as shown in a painting by Duris on a cylix, or drinking cup. Taken from Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*. At the left a youth seated is giving a lesson on a double flute to a boy standing, while in the center a youth is apparently correcting an exercise which the boy facing him has handed in on a wax tablet. At the right is a *pedagogus*. On the wall above the figures are a roll tied up, a pair of tablets bound together, and a lyre. The cross-shaped object has not been identified.

accompaniment upon the lyre of the epic verses. The exercises of the school dealt with *mousike*, the work of the nine muses — the patron deities of history, music, comedy, tragedy, dancing, lyric poetry, singing, epic poetry, and astronomy. This literary part of the Athenian schoolboy's day is usually described as having place in the music school.

Over this phase of education no direct control of the state seems to have been exercised, and although general legislation called upon the Athenian citizens to give their sons an elementary literary education, there is no evidence of machinery for seeing to the observance of the law. Apparently it was the general custom, especially of those of more comfortable means, to send their boys for a shorter or



Fig. 5. — Opposite side of the kylix shown in Figure 4. At the left a teacher is giving a lesson on the lyre to a boy facing him, while in the center another teacher is hearing a boy recite a passage written on the roll held in the teacher's hand. The *pedagogus* is repeated at the right. Two drinking cups, two lyres, a basket, and a flute-case are shown as hanging on the wall of the schoolroom.

longer period between the ages of seven and sixteen to the music school. Probably those most desirous of literary education for their sons continued them in the music school up to the age of sixteen, when by common consent a larger degree of freedom was permitted the youth.

Naturally enough the material of study in the

music school was almost exclusively Homer's epics during the period under discussion, although there is some evidence that the elegiac verse of Hesiod

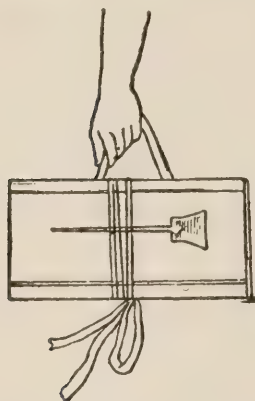


Fig. 6. — Wax tablets fastened together with a cord and having a stylus attached. The wax surface occurred in a sunken portion of a thin board, which was scratched by the action of the stylus. When a clean surface was required, the blunt end of the stylus was used to smooth out the wax. Sometimes contracts were written on such tablets and sealed. For the more permanent records parchment or papyrus was used. (Taken from Schreiber.)

was also to be found in the curriculum. The newer forms of verse, so recently created among the Greeks, can hardly have secured immediate admission to the elementary schools. Accordingly the boy's school day was largely devoted to an effort to learn the alphabet, to learn to read and write, and to learn to recite, in the fashion of the bards, the great epic masterpieces in which were contained the mythology, the moral inspirations, and the older intellectual and aesthetic endowment of the Hellenes. After the boy could trace the letters in sand he was allowed to use wax tablets and, later, parchment with pen and ink. Learning to read was a sufficiently difficult task, involving as it did the mastering of a text in

which words ran together without marks of division or of punctuation. Learning to recite involved, at least for the higher proficiency in the art, an adjustment of tone, bearing, gesture, and lyrical accompaniment, to the sense and feeling of the passage.

The study of Homer by the Greek boy of the seventh century B.C. may be thought of as a rather thorough reproduction for him of the religious history and the moral standards of his people. It may be said that this study represented also a knowledge of political history and of geography and of such science as the Greeks possessed; but this element can hardly have been of more than formal value, as there were even then available to the boy in many other connections much more authentic sources of the *realien* than Homer could be. Upon the conclusion of the indefinite time spent in the music school, presumably extending not beyond the sixteenth year, the literary education of the Athenian youth up to the time of the Constitution of Cleisthenes, came to an end, at least as carried on formally under a master in a school.

Physical education in Athens. — The Athenian attitude is no exception to the universal enthusiasm exhibited among the Greeks for physical beauty, strength, and skill. The great games celebrated among the Hellenes at stated periods are eloquent testimony to the importance which was attached to athletic prowess, as are no less the odes which some of the most distinguished Hellenic poets, particularly Pindar, addressed to the champion of the moment. The Athenian interest in physical education led to the development of supervised play and gymnastic exercises for boys beginning with the age of seven. This was carried on in what was technically called the palaestra. The work of the palaestra paralleled that of the music school, and occupied probably half

of the boy's time. It included a wide range of athletic exercises, taking in practically all our modern track and field sports, swimming, boxing, and wrestling, as well as dance-drills which developed grace and agility and served as preparation for the participation of the boys in religious festivals, of which processions and dancing were a prominent feature.

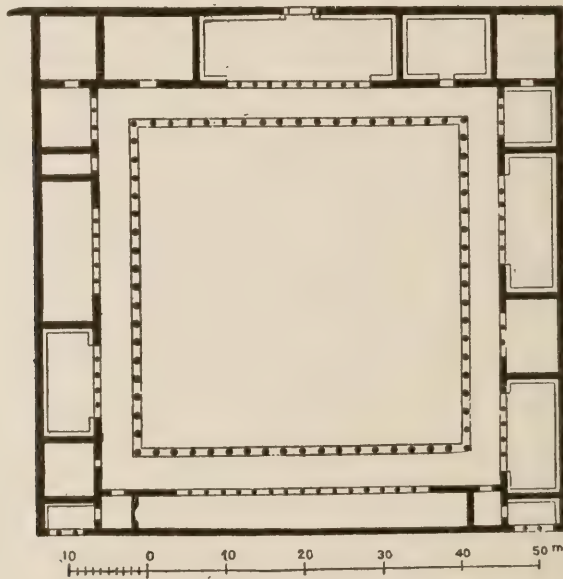


Fig. 7. — Ground plan of the palaestra at Olympia. Taken from Schreiber. The palaestra was an open court surrounded by a colonnade, on which opened a number of rooms used as oiling, dressing, and rest rooms.

During the years which followed those devoted to the music school and the palaestra, the physical development of the youth was given continued attention in the *gymnasium*. The entire range of the youth's activities as connected with that institution will be given separate treatment below. Still further emphasis upon physical training came with the period of formal military training from eighteen

to twenty, during which the exercises of camp and field by their very nature must have served as the finishing process of a youth's physical maturing and training. But even after the stated period of military service was at an end, it was a common thing for grown men to engage in the exercises of the *gymnasium* from the double motive, we may imagine, of enjoying the practice of their skill in competitive sports and of keeping themselves fit.

The gymnasial period. — One must resist the inclination to read into Athenian education the exactness of our contemporary educational administration. There were probably not more than one hundred thousand Athenian citizens of all ages at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Of these a large proportion were poor and were engaged in some form of productive labor. At the other end of the economic scale were those of at least comfortable fortunes, while in between were persons of all shades of economic prosperity. It may be presumed that many of the children of free Athenian parents learned to read and write, and to this end attended the music school for at least a term of years. But the length of their attendance would depend upon the ability or the willingness of their parents to pay the school fees and upon the pressure that existed within the family to get the boy into productive work. If this is true with reference to the earlier and more elementary instruction of the boy, it is even more true of the education after fourteen. The state demanded military service of every youth, no matter what the economic con-

dition of the family, from eighteen to twenty. As for the period of from fourteen or sixteen to eighteen there must have been a wide range of choice left to the parent as to how his son should spend his time, but certainly a sufficiently large proportion of the citizens chose to have their sons attend the *gymnasium* to make it worth while for



Fig. 8. — Heracles and his *pedagogus*. This picture, reproduced from a red figured vase-painting by Pisto Xenus, shows a boy on his way to school accompanied by an aged *pedagogus*, who carries his young master's lyre. (Taken from Schreiber.)

the state to establish and maintain that institution and to put it under the direction of a state official.

At the age of sixteen, or thereabouts, the Greek youth's way of life changed considerably. At that time the care of his *pedagogus*, or attendant, was relaxed and he

was allowed to go and come alone. For some of the boys of that age, their paths led to the day's work; for others to the *gymnasium*; and, presumably, for others, to a more or less unregulated life upon the streets. But even for those who attended the *gymnasium* there was considerable freedom in planning the whole day's activities.

After 590 B.C. there were two *gymnasia* in Athens,

while a third was added in the Age of Pericles. Located as it was in the outskirts of the city, there were, as a part of the *gymnasium*, shady groves and

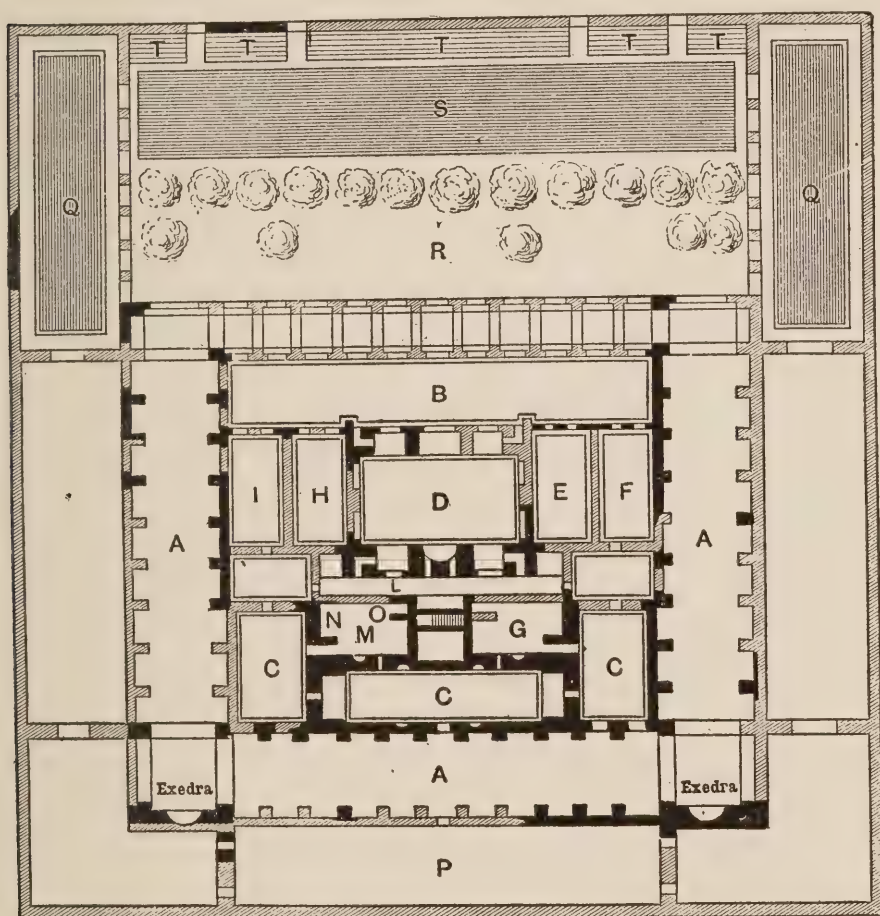


Fig. 9. — Ground plan of the *gymnasium* at Ephesus restored, dating from the early Christian centuries. Taken from Schreiber. The most important parts of the plan are : A = covered corridor ; B = open hall probably used for wrestling ; C–L = rooms devoted to assembly, baths, oiling, dusting, resting, etc. ; R = a grove ; S = the stadium, or running track.

walks where philosophers might conduct their arguments or where less serious individuals might exchange jests and small talk. The main purpose

of the *gymnasium* was, of course, for athletic exercise, and as a necessary part of its equipment there were playing fields for all kinds of track and field sports and smaller spaces for wrestling, boxing, and like games. A field house, with sun-parlors and baths and shady porticos, completed the physical equipment of the *gymnasium*.

The activities carried on in the *gymnasium* make it seem like a combination of country club, stadium, field house, and debating society. In the "good old days" of the period ending about 509 B.C. one may think of the Athenian youth of well-born and prosperous parentage betaking himself in good season to the *gymnasium* indicated by his birth (for only the sons of full-blooded Athenians attended the Academy), there to join with other youths of his own age in such plays or games as were for the time popular, and engaging in these until his natural fatigue or the shift of attention made something else more desirable. He was not alone upon the playing field, for many of the older men kept up their athletic pursuits and still others, no longer tempted to physical activities themselves, took pleasure in watching the contests of the young men. The social life of Athens was a man's world, and the *gymnasias* were the daytime scene of a considerable part of the activities of the *beau monde*. Here the youth was drawn into conversation with his elders or he might sink down upon the shady sand after he had had his fill of exercise and hear his elders talk about politics, or travels, or military campaigns, or about much else a great deal less deserving of record.

Relative to the Athens of the Age of Pericles, soon to come into existence, the Athens of the period under consideration was a country village, but such as it was its streets and market place, its place of assembly and its courts of law, offered diversion and education to the youth of sixteen who was free at that age to mingle freely in the general life. And for its time, the old Athens must have been an interesting place, with its frequent wars and rumors of wars, its bustling overseas trade, its active political life, its new interests in art and literature and science which were just making themselves felt in the leisure and conversation of gentlemen. For in those days there were no professional wise men teaching new sciences and arts for pay, but rather groups of kindred spirits who talked politics or philosophy, or discussed the new arrangement of the chorus in the Dionysiac festival, without thought of instructing one another or their generation, and certainly without thought of material gain. At all events, the adolescent youth in his free time had at least the choice of such contacts in the city of Athens as performed for him an important function of education for the life which he would actively enter as a citizen and a man.

Two years of military service. — At the age of eighteen the boy became a man and took on the outward symbols of manhood in his dress and his haircut. The following two years of his life were spent in military service. At the end of the first year of training,¹ the *epheboi*, or cadets, were brought

¹ The older authorities state that the ephebic oath was taken at the very beginning of the period of ephebic training, but later research

before a great gathering of the citizens and formally presented with their arms. Each youth was introduced by his name and lineage, and taking his spear and his shield he went to the Temple of Aglauros, which overlooked the greater part of his home city and land. Here he took the famous oath prescribed by Solon, generally known as the ephebic oath, which runs as follows :

I will never disgrace these sacred arms, nor desert my companion in the ranks. I will fight for temples and public property, both alone and with many. I will transmit my fatherland, not only not less, but greater and better, than it was transmitted to me. I will obey the magistrates who may at any time be in power. I will observe both the existing laws and those which the people may unanimously hereafter make, and if any person seek to annul the laws or to set them at nought, I will do my best to prevent him, and will defend them both alone and with many. I will honor the religion of my fathers. And I call to witness Agraulos, Enyalios, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, and Auxo, and Hegemone.¹

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. ROBINSON, J. H., and BREASTED, J. H., *Outlines of European History*, Ginn and Co., 1914, or BOTSFORD, G. W., *History of the Ancient World*, Macmillan, 1911. — Will recall to the student of educational history the main events in the history of Greece from the Homeric era to the Constitution of Cleisthenes.

2. FREEMAN, K. J., *Schools of Hellas*, Macmillan, London, 1907. — A scholarly and detailed account of educational practices during the period.

favors the end of the first year as the time. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Article, 'Εφηβία, Stuttgart, 1905.

¹ Taken from Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education*, p. 33.

3. DAVIDSON, T., *Education of the Greek People*, D. Appleton and Co., 1894. — Comprehensive and interesting.

4. ALEXANDER, A. B. D., *A Short History of Philosophy*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1908, or any other standard history of philosophy. — For the philosophical developments of the period.

5. JEBB, R. C., *Primer of Greek Literature*, American Book Company, 1897. — Tells simply and attractively the literary history of the period.

6. PLUTARCH, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, Little, Brown and Co., 1905, *Life of Lysurgus*. The same is contained in part in MONROE, P., *Source Book of the History of Education*, Macmillan, 1901, pp. 15-33. — The source of much that we know about Spartan life and education.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST STAGE IN THE CREATION OF THE MATERIALS OF SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

So far this account of the development of the Western cultural tradition has dealt pretty much with all of Greece, but for the period from the adoption of the Constitution of Cleisthenes, 509 B.C., to the success of Philip of Macedon in the Battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C., the account will be based upon what was going on in Athens. This is really not a limitation of the treatment, for Athens was the cultural center of the Greek world during that time and sooner or later every thinker or teacher of consequence sought a hearing there.

There is no period of equal length in all the centuries of Western history before the eighteenth which has been so vigorously creative as the one under consideration, and there is no period of equal length, without any exception, which created more of those cultural elements which live on in the life of contemporary society. It is a great period because it staged the first crisis of rational enlightenment which the Western world experienced. It is great from the standpoint of its production of literary forms and masterpieces of literary art. It is great for its cultivation of the fine arts. It is great as the matur-

ing period of our traditional Western philosophy of life. And for the student of education it is specifically important as the period during which were created, for the first time, and as a totally new resource of human cultivation, the materials of secondary and higher education.

The Athenian democracy. — The cultural developments which took place in Athens between 509 and 338 B.C. are closely related to the political conditions of the period. The Constitution of Cleisthenes ushered in a century and three-quarters of complete and immediate control of public policy by the citizens. It was democracy plus — not representative democracy as we know it, but exactly government all the time by all the voters who cared to make their influence felt. The *ecclesia*, or assembly of the citizens, was the source of all political power. Its stated meetings were held practically once a week, while special meetings could be called at any time. The agenda was prepared by the Council of Five Hundred, but any proposal for discussion could be amended at will. Any citizen might talk on any subject, and he who could win the majority to his way of thinking thus controlled the policy of the state. The vote was by counting of raised hands, and from a decision thus made there was no appeal.

A further extension of this rule of the many lay in the mode of selecting the administrative and judicial officers of the state. With the exception of a very few offices, such as that of *strategos*, or general, which required special personal capacity, they were

filled by lot. The members of the permanent Council of Five Hundred, which constituted the government between meetings of the assembly, were so chosen and for the short term of one year. Justice, such as it could be under the system, was administered through popular juries. A panel of six thousand jurors was chosen, again by lot, at the beginning of each year. This group was further subdivided so that there was available one section of five hundred each for the trial of a single case. The jurymen, without the aid or control of any person trained in the law, read the evidence presented, heard the pleadings of the plaintiff and defendant, who had to appear in person, made their decisions, and affixed the punishment, if any. A bare majority of the jurors decided the issue.

Main political events of the period. — The political developments of the period 509 to 338 B.C. are so closely related to the cultural developments of the time that they deserve to be recalled. Between 500 and 479 B.C. the Greek world was engaged in a life and death struggle against the attacks of the Persian Empire. The Persian thrust into Europe was successfully resisted, owing largely to the leadership of Athenian generals and the power of the Athenian fleet. Athens came out of the Persian Wars with greatly enhanced prestige and became head of the Delian League, which was a loose engagement among the Greek city-states having as its practical objective the maintenance of an adequate navy for defense against further possible Persian attacks. For a period of fifty years after the Persian Wars, Athens

was supreme in Greek affairs, and Athens, in effect, became the capital city of an empire. The streets of Athens were the crossroads of the Hellenic world. Its commerce and manufacturing kept pace with its political importance. The wealth of its citizens attracted all who had anything to offer for the enhancement of leisure time and encouraged the development of every form of art and science. Out of the contributions of her allies to the war chest, Athens rebuilt her temples, theaters, and other public works and applied thereto the creative genius of her architects, sculptors, and painters.

The name which has been given to the period of Athens' greatest prosperity (459-431 B.C.) is taken from that of her greatest citizen, Pericles, who during that time controlled the destinies of Athens from the rostrum of the Assembly through his ability to convince his fellow-citizens of the justice of his proposals. For that time Athens was riding high. Her coffers were full. Her armies were victorious. Her leadership in Hellas was supreme. But even before the death of Pericles the Delian League had broken up and the Greek world was again convulsed in a succession of fratricidal wars, costly in men and wealth, that left it an easy prey to a foreign foe.

The Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C.) were the direct result of the commercial rivalry which existed among the independent Greek city-states. In that series of exhausting conflicts Athens was defeated, although probably not so much from military failure as from the ravages of a great pestilence, which decimated the ranks of soldiers and broke the morale of

the people. Sparta succeeded to first place in a realm of petty politics and in turn was succeeded in that eminence by Thebes, until the soldiers of Philip of Macedon reduced the small-pattern political organizations, the city-states, of Greece to a position of vassalage in his empire.

Economic and social conditions. — The economic revolution which was already so well advanced before the outbreak of the Persian Wars was accelerated rather than slowed up during the fifth and fourth centuries. Manufacturing and commerce were the most important industries of the period, and the sharp competition among industrial states to which those conditions led was largely responsible for the diplomatic and military clashes of those states. The proportion of slaves among the population was very high, possibly four-fifths of the total. Many of the citizens, to be sure, were in business or workers in trades, but the abundant opportunities for holding public office, with the pay attached, made it possible for almost any citizen who was content with a modest maintenance, to live upon the state. As the greater part of the manual labor was done by slaves, the Athenian had come to consider handwork as somehow related to the condition of servitude and had branded it with his active disesteem.

A sketch of the cultural developments of the period. — The century of Athens' greatest political and commercial importance was also a century of most active intellectual and artistic creativeness. It was then that the forms of Greek architecture were perfected and exhibited in the magnificent

public buildings of Athens. It was the time likewise of the maturing of Greek sculpture and painting. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are three names which have come down to us with their works as representative of the perfect development of Attic tragedy, and it is matter of record that even they sometimes failed to win the prize which was bestowed upon him who stood highest in the public competition in the state theater. Aristophanes was creating his brilliant comedies dealing with public men and affairs. Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon were perfecting prose narrative as the medium of history. Hippocrates was formulating the science of medicine in the form which it retained until but yesterday, while the Pythagoreans and many other independent workers were building up step by step the branches of mathematics. In the field of philosophy a spirit of skepticism unbound all the sanctions of the moral life and opened up for rational criticism every human institution, and out of this attitude of doubt and searching came the formulation of two opposite philosophical theories, namely, materialism and idealism. The former was perfected by Democritus almost in its modern form, and the latter, created with consummate literary skill by Plato, lives on in apparently undiminished vitality in our contemporaneous orthodox theologies. And last, but not least important from the standpoint of the history of education, the age created out of hand the staple materials of the schoolmaster's instruction and introduced a professional class of teachers.

How subjects of instruction were created.— Examples have already been given of the way in which the restless Greek intellect was dissatisfied with a knowledge of a practical rule-of-thumb and pressed on to gain a theoretical explanation of it. Through the operation of this natural inquisitiveness the Greeks had made some headway in the sciences of mathematics and astronomy in the preceding century. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. almost all the practical skills that were current in Greek life were similarly analyzed into their principles or theoretical elements. Thus in reaction to the rich materials of contemporary literature was developed the science of grammar. Out of the superabundance of oratory was developed the science of rhetoric. The interminable arguments, public and private, on the engaging problems of the day brought about a need for some “rules of the game” of argumentation and proof, and to meet this need arose the science of logic. And so for such other formulations of theory as poetics, ethics, politics, and so on to horsemanship and cookery. It was an era of rich practical performance in many fields; it was also an era of the analysis of that performance and of a formulation of the factors which ministered to its effectiveness.

As an example of this process it may be recalled that before [Aeschylus] there had not been the remotest attempt to distinguish the forms of expression nor to analyze and reduce them to principles of speech. Aeschylus had not the faintest conception of the meaning of adverb or preposition or of the rules of the moods and tenses.¹

¹ See Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, I. 438.

Among the first to analyze literary practice, as found in the works of authors and the conversation of cultivated men, into its constituent elements, to name these, and formulate them as rules, definitions, and standards of usage, was Protagoras of Abdera. Prodicus of Ceos was interested in removing some of the all-too-common ambiguity from contemporary word-usage and to that end he collected synonyms and carefully distinguished the shades of meanings among them (for which, to be sure, he was ridiculed by Plato in the *Protagoras*). Others contributed descriptions of poetic figures of speech; others described various types of literature and catalogued the forms and the measures of verse; and thus there developed within a century or, at most, two centuries, a body of instructional material ready for the use of the grammarian in the grammar school.

In the same way the subject matter of rhetoric was created through the analysis and description of the art of effective speech. The institutional life of Athens created many occasions on which the ability to speak convincingly before a public audience was of great advantage to the citizen. It was the one potent means of affecting public policy and, in a time and among a people much given to litigation, it was a serviceable means of defending one's property or reputation. It is not a matter of wonder, then, that under the circumstances of the fifth century B.C., the art of public speaking should have been especially cultivated and that a class of professional teachers of rhetoric should have come into existence.

One should avoid carrying back, to interpret the

Greek use of the term, our current conception of the subject of rhetoric. Much that we include in that subject was included by the Greeks in the subject of grammar. For them, rhetoric was the art of persuasion and it applied only to forensic efforts. It prescribed effective ways and means of making a speech in the assembly or the court of law or on any other public or private occasion when speech-making was in order. Analytical observers of the practice of oratory observed the factors that made for success. To make themselves clear in describing those factors it was necessary for them to create a technical terminology and for purposes of illustration to collect examples of each.

We can imagine the early discovery and naming of the parts of the oration — the introduction, the statement of the case, the presentation of proof, the rebuttal of the opposing arguments, and the conclusion. An effective speaker was seen to know how to catch the attention of the crowd and to predispose it in his favor. He was seen to make almost at once a clear statement of the case as he wanted it to be considered. Then in turn came the introduction of the arguments in support of his contention or interest, to be followed by an effort to weaken his opponent's arguments in advance of their presentation. And finally there was an effective way of concluding the speech so as to leave a favorable impression with the audience. For each of the parts of the speech the technique needed to be varied to suit differences of circumstances, and each technique called for appropriate illustration. It became not

uncommon for the instructor in rhetoric to state a theme or accept one proposed by a bystander and make a speech upon it. If it was a controversial issue he was willing to take either side and make out as strong a case as possible. At the conclusion of the speech he would explain his procedure, giving reasons for what he had chosen to do and naming and assessing the rejected alternatives.

Inseparably connected with the scientific study of rhetoric, there developed the subject matter of logic. The purpose of both was persuasion, for although logic came to relate specifically to proof, in its early stages of development, plausibility was more sought for than validity. When Aristotle later came to make a classification of the arrangements of propositions that gave true conclusions, he classified fallacious arrangements as the sophistical arguments and a careful examination of them shows that they are just such arguments as a pleader sometimes uses before a jury to-day or as a political speaker sometimes uses before a campaign audience. Even the Greek teachers of rhetoric in the fifth century B.C. could appreciate the technique of the counsel who, when he had no case, began to abuse the plaintiff's attorney. They were ready to take advantage of the *argumentum ad hominem* (the argument to the man) or the *circulus in probando* (circle in proving). Indeed it was they who in self-defense distinguished those defects of logical reasoning and gave them their names. Much must have been done in the fifth and early fourth centuries in reducing to some order the valid arrangements of

propositions to give logical proof, for where there was so much trickery in reasoning some defense must have been developed to meet it, and although Aristotle prepared the first scientific arrangement of the technique of proof he must have found the materials in large part prepared for him through the experimentation of his predecessors.

The development of the subjects grammar, rhetoric, and logic has been illustrated in some detail, partly because it is easily appreciated and partly because those subjects became almost immediately a definite part of organized secondary and higher education. There were other fields of subject matter, however, which during this same period were receiving hardly less spectacular extension. The sciences of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, and medicine were being elaborated into almost their final form as they came into the intellectual life of the Western World through the medieval universities. Hippocrates of Ceos had composed the medical works which remained authoritative until modern times, Plato had written the *Timaeus*, a work on astronomy which reappears in its essence in the *Banquet* of Dante; the Pythagoreans had introduced the use of definitions and orderly proofs into the study of geometry; Hippocrates of Ceos had written *The Elements*, the first textbook in mathematics — all this had been accomplished before the Macedonian conquest. The way was being prepared for the great organizing work of Euclid in the field of mathematics and that of Aristotle in an encyclopedic range of sciences and of arts.

The first professional teachers of the higher learning. — Incidentally there have been mentioned in the course of the preceding pages the names of several of the men who were responsible for creating and passing on the new learning. Few of them were natives of Athens, and in order to be able to carry on the work they accepted fees for their instruction. Up to this time, philosophers and scientists had been “amateurs” — men who did their work for the love of it and who freely exchanged their intellectual gifts with their friends in the relationships of ordinary social intercourse. The new “professionals” in the exercises of the mind were regarded by some of the members of the old and well-established aristocracy as outraging social taste in thus accepting pay for their services. The situation, however, was one that was bound to arise when the body of available knowledge became so great as to require “professional” preparation over a long period of time and when the demands for instruction greatly exceeded the possibilities afforded by casual social contacts. There is little practical difference between financially independent Plato teaching his school of followers in the Academy and Isocrates teaching public speaking for pay in his school of oratory, for they both represent the actual presence of a new era in higher education.

The enthusiasm of the youth of Athens over the new learning is portrayed for us in friendly vein by Plato in his *Protagoras*. He represents a youth, Hippocrates, as disturbing the early morning slumbers of Socrates with the demand that Socrates

should take him at once to hear Protagoras, of whose arrival he had heard only late the night before. After some delay, for it was then only four o'clock, Socrates proceeded with his youthful friend to the home of Callias, where not only Protagoras, but also Hippias and Prodicus were staying. When they entered the house they saw Protagoras, walking up and down the courtyard accompanied at each side by some half-dozen Athenians of social importance. At the end of the court Protagoras would turn on his heel, and his hearers, with military precision, would do likewise so as to lose not a word of his wisdom. Prodicus in an opposite cloister was lecturing to an interested group on certain problems of physics and astronomy, while Hippias, propped up in bed with covers over his legs, was instructing still another gathering.

The scene described by Plato is probably good authority for the belief that the bearers of the new learning were welcome in the social and intellectual circles of Athens. Men old and young were eager to learn what they had to offer, and it is quite likely that this new resource for leisure time cut into the attendance of the boys upon the athletic pursuits and the informal contacts of the *gymnasium*, which had been their most important occupations in the "good old days" before the Persian Wars. Aristophanes complained that the youth of his day were deteriorating in physical fitness, in modesty, and in morals, and laid the blame for the new conditions upon the fact that the youth were spending their time upon the intellectual fripperies of grammar,

rhetoric, and logic, and neglecting their physical exercise. In *The Clouds* he makes Right Reason present the alternatives between the old way of life and the new to Strepsiades as a pattern for the education of his son. Right Reason says,

[If you chose me] then, fresh and blooming, you will spend your time in the gymnasium, and not go about the public square, mouthing monstrous jokes, like the young men of to-day, or getting dragged into slippery, gumshonbamboozling disputes, but, going down to the Academy, with some worthy companion of your own age, you will start a running match, crowned with white reed, smelling of smilax, leisure, and deciduous white poplar, rejoicing in the spring, when the plane tree whispers to the maple. If you do the things which I enjoin, and give your mind to them, you will always have a well-developed chest, a clear complexion, broad shoulders, and a short tongue.¹

It is not well to take this indictment of the new education on the part of a dyed-in-the-wool conservative too seriously, for certainly not all things were ideal under the old conditions nor were all bad under the new. But it is at least instructive as indicating that the Athenian youth of sixteen to eighteen in the days of Pericles was living in a much more intricate intellectual environment than was his grandfather at the same age, and that his daily program was being considerably altered thereby. That it was a change all for the worse is hardly credible.

The Greek enlightenment. — It is not to be marvelled at that the wealth, the stirring political life, and the cosmopolitan contacts of Athens in the

¹ Translation from Davidson, *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals*.

fifth century B.C. should conspire to increase the numbers of the intellectual class and to stimulate literary and scientific creativeness. On the other hand, one must not lose sight of the fact that the intellectual class, even in the Athens of Pericles, was only a weak minority of all the citizens. The great mass of the voters were little touched by the development of science and philosophy. They were distrustful and resentful of new notions. To the last they believed in their uncritical natural religion, their omens, and their sacrifices. In defense of their time-honored beliefs, they could pronounce the death sentence upon Socrates, and on a wave of superstitious resentment could condemn their darling Alcibiades.

The intellectual class during the fifth century B.C. passed from attitudes of faith to attitudes of skepticism or of rational belief. More men and still more came to disbelieve in the actual existence of the deities of the Greek pantheon and in the stories that were told about them. They came to know with Xenophanes that Iris was not a goddess, but a bit of cloud with the sun shining upon it. For the pretty tales which explained the change of seasons, they set up scientific formulas. If this was their changed attitude with regard to things far off, they changed no less completely with reference to the hold which had been exercised by the sanctions of the moral life. Under the rule of the mores, a man accepted a course of conduct because it was dictated by precedent and upheld by divine approval. He guided his personal life, as son, parent, landlord,

citizen, through rules which he accepted without questioning their authority. But as the rule of reason began to prevail with him, the entire course of his conduct was left open to reconstruction. Was he to continue finding modes of action right and just because so designated by precedent and contemporary approval? Was it possible for wrongs and injustices to be perpetuated thus through the lethargy of public custom? Was something good or just in its own right or because of long-established social habit? Were, possibly, the gods and goddesses themselves rather scandalous in their morals?

The many international and interracial contacts which were inevitable in Athens after the Persian Wars, with the broadening of experience and the sharpening of contrasts which inevitably resulted, accelerated the rationalistic tendencies which were visible even in the sixth century. The result was a thoroughgoing emancipation, during the fifth century, of the intellectual class from the authority of the old religion and the old morality. For the first time in our Western history the human individual was face to face with the problem of what his life meant and of what he should do with it. For the philosopher this led to further questing to find out the nature of reality, of which man was a part, with the ultimate purpose of discovering what principles of human conduct were consistent with the comprehensive scheme of things.

In the minds of the intellectually conservative, which would include the great mass of the Athenian voters, there was little to choose among the many

bearers of the enlightenment. They put Protagoras and Socrates to death, threatened Aristotle with a like fate, and almost lost their confidence in Pericles on account of his known friendship with Anaxagoras and other representatives of the "higher criticism" of the old morals and religion. Generally speaking, the men who were most active in developing and teaching grammar and rhetoric and the other new sciences were not especially devoted to religious and moral speculation. They were emancipated, to be sure, from the hold of orthodox beliefs, but too busy or too indifferent to concern themselves a great deal about constructive efforts to establish human conduct on a philosophical basis. Some of them were notable for their extreme contempt for accepted standards and their open flouting of the common decencies; but the majority accepted the existing conditions of society and the prevailing ideals of moral conduct and prepared youth to be socially effective in accordance with those conditions and ideals.

Plato was bitter in his condemnation of the Sophists, as he chose to call the professional intellectuals of his day, just because they were content to live and work upon the low level of the Athenian *demos* (people) and to confirm it in its intellectual blindness and its lack of moral insight. He despised the teacher of rhetoric because rhetoric dealt with the art of persuading others to a certain belief without reference to the ultimate validity of that belief. Rhetorical instruction was a phase of the seething political ambitions and the ceaseless law

trials of contemporary Athens, in which momentary personal advantage was the objective and large social policy and actual justice were of no concern. He despised the unprincipled logician of his time because the latter was concerned not with absolute truth but with apparent proof. He despised the whole machinery of contemporaneous culture — the theater, the school, the market-place — because it only strengthened the youth in bad intellectual habits and low moral standards.

The position of Plato's philosophy in our Western culture. — Seen from the perspective of his own time, Plato's philosophy is to be thought of as his effort to reestablish a firm foundation for individual life and public policy after the mores and the old religion had been discredited. However, he desired the new foundation to be established upon the eternal rock of innermost reality. Under the old conditions of moral control the individual had had his way pointed out to him, although, to be sure, it was not always an unambiguous pathway. The shifting and uncertain meanings of even the most ordinary moral concepts had been pointed out frequently enough by Plato's teacher, Socrates, who spent most of his life talking with the people he met in Athens with the purpose of reducing to some order and definiteness the terms for describing conduct that were in everyday use.

Socrates found that many of the commonest terms, such as courage, justice, piety, were used in widely varying senses, among which there developed startling inconsistencies. It was his conviction that if

the research could be carried far enough, so as to include enough instances, the inconsequential elements of the uncritical everyday definitions might be eliminated and the compact remainder of meaning would possess inner self-consistency and real truth. Thus if courage might be separated from the instinctive attack which is to be seen in lower animals, and from the rashness that is to be associated with ignorance of danger, and be broadened so as to include examples of moral courage, the meaning of that term would at least have been considerably cleared up and would be approaching an absolute connotation which need admit of no qualification or exception. When that final stage of definition had haply been reached, one would have a true universal meaning, or concept, that would be superior to particular instances or partial applications; indeed one could feel that he had penetrated into an inner circle of truth which had correspondence, without defect or remainder, to the absolute nature of things.

There is much evidence that Plato was led into his final philosophical positions partly through the example of Socrates in searching for universals or concepts in the field of human conduct; but he was put perhaps farther on his way through his studies of mathematics. When one correctly defines a geometrical figure or accurately states a geometrical theorem he comes immediately into a field of conceptual truth. It matters not what materials are used to outline a sphere, for they do not affect the meaning of sphere. It matters not what the size or shape of a triangle, the sum of its angles always counts up to

equal two right angles. If one draws a triangle in the air with his finger, so that, when the motion is completed, nothing remains to the senses, he has as completely represented a triangle as if he had carved it in marble, and everything that is true about any triangle is true about the one he has traced in the air. Mathematical realities are independent of sense; indeed they are superior to sense. No one can draw an absolutely correct sphere. The sphere is what it is by definition, by conceptual meaning; and any material or sensuous representation of it must fall short of the perfection of its real existence.

Without attempting to follow Plato in any of the many other leads which he developed, we may say that he came to a general conclusion that the world that we know through the senses, the material universe or the world of phenomena, was inferior in reality to a world that we know through reason, the supersensual or noumenal world. The sense world secured its poor validity because it was somehow molded upon, or copied after, or participated in, the world of concepts or ideas. The individual thing, with its life history of birth, growth, decay, and disappearance, was the imperfect copy of its eternal archetype. The individual thing was subject to accident and failure just because it belonged to the imperfect material realm. Its universal original, its genus, had an unblemished and unconditional existence just because it was of the stuff that geometrical truth is made of — it was eternal and unchangeable in a realm beyond time and space and ordinary cause and effect relations.

Once having granted Plato's central principle, his entire scheme of the universe and man's position in it readily unfolds. The inner core of reality is noumenal, or conceptual, in its nature. It is eternal, creative, and directive, but yet unaffected by its relationships with the realm of matter. The individual person, like every other particularization of the archetypal idea, partakes of the nature of the absolute because he has a rational or noumenal part, his soul. This part of him, always more or less entangled in matter, is yet continually striving for freedom from material solicitations and seeking its eternal home. For that part of the individual man which is really man, his soul, is a part of the innermost realm of being. It, too, has always lived and will always live. Its imprisonment in the mesh of the body is only an episode in its timeless existence. And once the windows of sense can be closed and man can retire into his inmost citadel of being, his rational part, he may hope to think himself into communication with absolute reality. That accomplished, he will know the Truth and the Truth will make him free.

It is necessary to point out that Plato's philosophy was made more serviceable through the modifications which it underwent at the hands of Aristotle, but the essentials of the later system were present even as they stood in the works of Plato. From the standpoint of the history of our Western intellectual tradition, the contribution of Plato is second to no other. He established, to take the place of the discredited naturalistic religion, a super-

religion which could make its appeal to the intellectual class. The gods and goddesses, who reigned over the world of men and things and exhibited all the nobility and all the frailty of the poets who dreamed them and the people who worshiped them, were indeed spirits, but unhappily, they could no longer be believed in. Enlightened men continued to say their names as a manner of speech, but as to taking them seriously, that was out of the question. Plato, however, through his theory of the supersensual realities, created a formula that made respectable once more a belief in spirit, and that belief has been potent throughout the succeeding generations of Western life and lives on in scarcely diminished power in orthodox theologies and in the thoughts of the great majority of our Western population. Our definition of God as a "spirit infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, justice, holiness, goodness, and truth" is unthinkable except in Platonic terms. The belief in the existence of an undying human soul is no less directly dependent upon the theory of ideas. And upon these two concepts the whole structure of Western theology has been erected.

Plato's ideal state and its system of education. — It is of interest to discover what application of his philosophy to practical life Plato thought could be made. He saw in it, properly worked out through a comprehensive system of education, a means of health for any city-state afflicted, as was Athens, with the woes that came from democracy. For Plato was an Athenian and an aristocrat, and being

an aristocrat he was a conservative. Plato's great work in which he sets forth his theories of education is *The Republic*, or, as its second title runs, "Concerning Justice." It is the latter title that gives us a key to its content and purpose, for it is an attempt to show the conditions under which the individual will live in such relations to the state that even-handed justice for all will result. Concisely put, Plato believed that justice would exist only in that state in which every individual was doing the things which he was fitted by nature to do. There are persons who are fit only for manual labor or business pursuits; others are fit by nature to be soldiers; while others, the best endowed, are the born administrators and governors of the state. This distribution of persons goes back farther to the distribution of personal traits in each. Those who are born to labor exhibit the predominance of physical appetite and instinct; their god is their belly; the seat of their life is the viscera; and to all intents and purposes they are more like animal creation than like humankind. It is appropriate that they should do the hard work upon which the living of a truly humane life was thought to depend, and, while he does not say so in so many words, these persons are to be held in a condition of practical servitude. They correspond to the large slave population which was an accepted factor in Greek life and the economic foundation of Greek society. The class of persons who are to be the military caste are fit for the position of guardianship because they can be trusted to subdue their appetites; because they are gifted

with courage and a sense of duty. The highest class of all, and a decided minority in the total population, are those who have preëminent intellectual gifts. In modern parlance we would call them those with the high I.Q.'s. These last live mainly in the realm of reason and they alone are fit to be the rulers of the state because they alone have the endowment that will enable them to know the conceptual world of ideas. With this division of his population agreed upon, the major principles of politics in *The Republic* are to put everyone to doing that for which he is fitted by his nature and to prepare the youth through education for the maturing and improvement of his native capacities.

The industrial classes of society are to be prepared for their functions through the ordinary processes of apprenticeship and imitative learning. They are given neither a literary education for the improvement of their minds nor physical education for the improvement of their bodies. Of them no positive virtue is expected, but only the negative one of temperance, or self-repression.

Plato's attitude regarding manual labor was likewise shared by Aristotle and is symptomatic both of their aristocratic prejudices and of their intellectualistic psychology and philosophy. Perhaps modern society needs no philosophical explanation of its own prejudices against manual labor and its social discrimination against those who do the hard work of the economic life, but it is certain that the Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy of labor is inadequate to solve the problems of our modern industrial society.

It is equally evident that their intellectualistic psychology, with its glorifying of the intellectual function of mind, has always failed to appraise the instinctive and the physical aspects of our conscious life at their full significance. The body is much more than a collection of moral pitfalls, and the "appetitive" sides of our life are much more than negative tendencies that need to be controlled through the operation of the "rational faculty." Our new information regarding physiology and our contemporary formulations of psychology make it impossible for us to separate, as Plato did, the functions of the viscera from the spiritual side of man. Rather do we come to think of the spiritual aspects of instinctive life and to emphasize the close interdependence between the spiritual life and the functioning of the physical body. It is matter for consideration that the intellectualistic separation of mind and body, so sharply made in the psychology and the philosophy of Plato, found its way into Western religion and the Western theory of moral conduct and has there operated powerfully throughout the Christian centuries against a comprehensive and sane view of human personality.

The plan of education proposed for the two upper classes of society in *The Republic* follows rather closely the time arrangement of education as Plato saw it about him in his day. The boys were to remain at home until the age of seven, at which time they were to begin a course of instruction in music, in the enlarged Greek sense of the term, and in physical exercise, which was to extend to the age of sixteen.

Plato's course of literary study is seen to exhibit the influence of his own philosophical development. A strange Homer is to be introduced, in which all the gods are moral, all the goddesses virtuous, and all the heroes honorable. The newer forms of poetry which praised pleasure were to be kept out of the schools, and only those measures that ministered to courage through arousing the martial spirit or to wisdom through leading to rational contemplation, were to be tolerated. The physical exercises were to contribute to leanness, fitness, and self-control, and there was to be no more place in the ideal state for cooks and doctors than for stage actors and flute players. At the age of sixteen the boys were to enter upon four years of intensive physical exercise and military training. At the end of that time the governors of the state should know the character and abilities of the youths sufficiently well that they could select out of the total the small number who were qualified for a protracted course of intensive intellectual education. The rest were to become the military force of the state.

The training of the picked group of the high I.Q.'s was to consist for ten years in the study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. These subjects were chosen because they offered appropriate exercise in abstract reasoning, and were to be so handled as to develop that kind of skill. Their practical bearings were neglected altogether as having no reference to the development of reasoning power. At the end of the ten-year period those who had come to the limit of their intellectual capacities were

drafted off to fill the administrative posts in the state, while those who exhibited a quintessence of ability in dealing with abstractions were given five years of additional training in the study of dialectic, which we may render as metaphysics and theory of knowledge, or philosophy. At the end of that time the chosen few were to be thought of as prepared to see and recognize the eternal ideas, the conceptual world that lay beyond and conditioned the world of physical existence and human society. With that ability guaranteed, they were fit to be the rulers of the state and for the next fifteen years of their lives they were so to serve. After that they were to become rulers *emeriti* and were to spend their time in thoughtful contemplation and in the instruction of the young.

It is unfair to press too far Plato's exposition of education in the ideal state. It would not work, and probably no one knew that better than Plato himself. He was mainly concerned to exhibit through *The Republic*, a beautiful work of poetic art, the failures of contemporary education — how it was simply confirming the children of Athens in the outworn moral standards of a cruder past and in the relaxing novelties of their own day, instead of leading to improved attitudes and standards in a rationally selective environment; how it was, in its more advanced stages, cultivating plausibility at the expense of soundness and glib talking at the expense of deep thinking.

Aristotelianism. — Perhaps it will be thought that enough has by now been said of philosophy in

what purports to be a history of education, but there are good reasons for pausing by the way long enough to recall the outstanding conceptions of Aristotle, another thinker of the fourth pre-Christian century who walks with giant strides through the intellectual history of the Western World. Aristotle was a pupil of Plato and accepted in the main his master's viewpoint, but between the two there were differences of character and method which make their philosophies quite unlike in important ways. Plato was the poet, brilliant in his inspirations and content to let many points in his argument rest on implication. Aristotle was the systematic, careful thinker, full of facts and satisfied only with a procedure that led toward complete demonstration.

One of the central differences in the two philosophies lies in the divergence in the treatment of the "ideas." For Plato these "ideas," or forms, had their existence in a timeless, spaceless realm of absolute perfection, but their mode of influencing the world of sense was never made altogether clear. Aristotle brought the "forms" into the workaday world of sense and of cause-and-effect relations. He thought of them as the patterns according to which the "stuff" of creation — matter — was constantly finding the goal of its restless change. Except in the case of God, form was always existent in its material embodiment. Thus the form, or genus, man, was to be found only in a particular man, who came about as the result of the mutual interaction between the genus man, reaching down to guide matter into realization as man, on the one hand, and at the other

extreme of the process, the inchoate matter flowing upward to its genus. Everywhere in the whole range of existence from the lowest possible state of matter to the absolutely pure being of God, these forms were thought to be at work, providing motive power and acting as patterns for the endless ebb and flow of creation. Timeless, spaceless, eternal, they laid their irresistible power upon matter, out of which came the succession of individual things each according to its kind.

It was the law of life that matter should seek its highest form or perfect realization, and that form, or genus, ranked highest which was nearest in nature to the pure form of God and farthest in nature from unformed matter. By this standard animal life was higher than vegetable, man was higher than the animals which were without the faculty of reason, and that part of man was most godlike in which he differed most completely from the lower animals, namely, his reason. Man, endowed with this godlike faculty, was the highest product of earthly creation, and man was most truly man when he approximated most closely the rule of reason in his conduct.

Certainly this brief sketch of its principal notions does not present the philosophy of Aristotle in any adequate way, but perhaps enough has been said to suggest the amazing influence which that philosophy has exerted on the world we live in. For some centuries after the death of Aristotle, his stupendous system of thought was only moderately influential, but in the eighth century it was taken up into the

intellectual life of the Mohammedans, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was transferred practically in its entirety into the formulas of the official philosophy and theology of the Christian church. The theology of Aristotle as adapted by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century remains to-day the theology of the orthodox Christian. His theory of forms, or genera, dominated scientific thought and investigation until the time of Darwin. His faculty psychology, positing the existence of an immaterial soul and giving the primacy of mind to reason and its works, was the basis of all our authoritative psychological, and moral, and educational theory until but yesterday. The scientific terms which he invented and the modes of logical procedure which he elaborated live on in the nomenclature of contemporary science and in the speech of the man in the street.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. ROBINSON, J. H., and BREASTED, J. H., *Outlines of European History*, Ginn and Co., 1914, or BOTSFORD, G. W., *History of the Ancient World*, Macmillan, 1911. — Give the main events of the political history of Greece from 509 to 338 B.C.

2. TUCKER, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*, Macmillan, 1906. — Gives an excellent representation of a cross-section of Athenian life in the Age of Pericles.

3. VAN HOOK, LA R., *Greek Life and Thought*, Columbia University Press, 1923. — A recent scholarly account of Greek culture and civilization.

4. FREEMAN, K. J., *Schools of Hellas*, Macmillan, London, 1908. — Scholarly and readable.

5. DAVIDSON, T., *The Education of the Greek People*, D. Appleton and Co., 1894. — Sound treatment and interesting interpretation.

6. DAVIDSON, T., *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. — Excellent exposition of Aristotle's educational theory and of his significance for Western education.

7. ALEXANDER, A. B. D., *A Short History of Philosophy*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1908. — Shows the intellectual developments of the times in good perspective.

8. DURANT, W., *The Story of Philosophy*, Simon and Schuster, 1926, Chs. I and II. — A sound account of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle in an unusually attractive style.

9. GROTE, G., *History of Greece*, Vol. VII, John Murray, London, 1903. — Contains an illuminating account of the life and work of the Sophists.

10. GOMPERZ, T., *Greek Thinkers*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911. — An advanced account of the scientific and philosophical developments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

11. STOCKS, J. L., *Aristotelianism*, Jones (Marshall) Co., Boston, 1926. — An admirable account of the philosophy of Aristotle.

12. MONROE, P., *Source Book of the History of Education*, Macmillan, 1901. — Contains much valuable source material for the period.

13. ARISTOPHANES, *The Clouds* (translation), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1921.

14. PLATO, *The Republic* (translation Jowett), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1888.

15. ARISTOTLE, *Politics* (translation Jowett), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1885.

16. NETTLESHIP, R. L., *Theory of Education in the Republic of Plato*, University of Chicago Press, 1906, and Bosanquet, B., *Education of the Young in the Republic of Plato*, Cambridge University Press, 1900. — Good accounts of Plato's ideal system of education.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTERNATIONALIZING OF HELLENIC CULTURE AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZING OF EDUCATION

Political conditions after the Macedonian conquest.

—When Philip of Macedonia won the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., the small-pattern organization of Greek political life came to an end. Under the city-state polity, with its vivid patriotism, its particularism, its ceaseless military conflicts, the genius of the Greeks had flowered rapidly and richly in two of the most highly creative centuries of Western history. Much of that development had been very definitely conditioned by the facts of political life. The immediateness of the individual's contact with the outermost form of human control intensified the meaning for him of all questions of personal morals and political organization. It brought home to him the clash of mores and the meaning of his peculiar institutions, and it led to the canvassing — upon the stage, in social conversation, and in written works — of a host of interests which were at once personal and political. It conditioned the striking development of tragedy and comedy, of history, of oratory, and of philosophy. The peculiar political forms of Athens, which rested upon unchecked control of government by all the citizens,

encouraged the study of oratory and the related arts of grammar and logic, with the result that almost overnight there was created a rich subject matter of instruction in those fields and a professional class of teachers. Following in the train of so much intellectual activity definitely related to political circumstances there was exerted a great deal of creative effort in the domain of pure science.

With the overthrow of the city-state, the setting of the individual's life was profoundly changed. Instead of being important in deciding upon major affairs of political policy, he found that such matters no longer entered into his experience, but were decided by a distant emperor or king. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and all the other independent polities of the preceding period were submerged in the empire of Alexander or in the large-pattern governments established by his successors. In its most vital aspects, the political self-expression of the individual was at an end. He might be allowed a certain degree of autonomy in merely local matters, but so far as independent decisions with respect to alliances and declarations of war and peace and even concerning significant reorganizations of civil administration were concerned, the individual had no more opportunity of exerting influence than he had with reference to the weather.

The effect of this truncation of the individual's full life as man and citizen is definitely discernible in the intellectual life of the period. Oratory declined to the status of an academic exercise when the orator no longer dealt with decisions pregnant

with political interest : the last great Greek orations are said to have resulted from Demosthenes' fervid effort to get his fellow-citizens to realize the menace of Philip the Macedonian. Tragedy disappeared as a form of creative literature, and the comedy, dealing no longer with public men and affairs, became the "comedy of manners" and displayed upon the stage the foibles and pleasures of fashionable folks of the day, for the entertainment and not the instruction of contemporaries. The one original literary form of the age was the idyll, brought to its perfection by Theocritus. It dealt with bucolic characters in rustic scenes and may be thought of as a reaction against the closed-in life of the cities which were the home of Alexandrian culture.

There were, however, certain aspects of the intellectual life that received very significant development after the loss of independence of the city-states. The devotees of pure science were not so unfavorably affected by the loss of political independence, and continued to carry on their researches and greatly to expand the fields of mathematics, physics, astronomy, geography, anatomy, and physiology. If philosophy lost in originality, it approached nearer to the problems of conduct and multiplied its clientele, for under the intellectual conditions of the pre-Christian era every individual was almost driven to choosing for himself a philosophy according to which he could govern his existence. The age, too, was one in which the student and the scholar flourished. It was a time of schools and intellectual societies, of research and system-building,

of private literary pursuits and industrious polishing of unimportant themes.

The spread of Greek culture and civilization. — There had been created in the centuries of Greek history which have already been viewed, a truly marvelous heritage. Nowhere in the world outside of the Greek influence was anything like it to be found. The epics of Homer, the various forms of elegiac verse, the lyric, the tragedy, the comedy, the oration, and the prose of history and philosophy, represented a sum of literary forms and materials unexampled elsewhere. The intellectual emancipation from the rule of the mores and naturalistic religion which had been accomplished in Greek philosophy, was unique among humankind. The Greeks had created out of hand a long list of theoretical sciences. They had developed their amazing perfection in architecture, in sculpture, and in painting. They had adorned and embellished their houses, their public buildings, their conversation, their habits of life, their personalities, with the riches that were peculiarly their own. There were Greeks in the world — and all the rest were barbarians.

Philip of Macedonia was an alien in Greek affairs although Macedonia lay contiguous to the northern limits of the Greek world. Yet Philip was appreciative of the culture of Greece, and his great son and successor was more so. Alexander the Great, tutored by the learned Aristotle himself and reared in an environment of Greek importations, was a sincere lover of Greek culture and found it his mission in life to extend that culture throughout the great em-

pire which he conquered by force of arms. From his native Macedonia in the north and west, over the colonies of the Black Sea region, over the area covered by the Persian Empire, over Syria and Palestine and eastward to India, and south to the upper Nile Valley, his empire extended. And everywhere he went he left a little part of Greece. His most effective means of transplanting Greek influence was through the founding of cities. Alexandria, destined to become the crucible in which Oriental and Greek thought were fused, is only one and the greatest of his city foundations. His successors to power continued the founding of Greek cities in the midst of alien populations, thus providing at one and the same time strongholds for their military and administrative systems and seedbeds for the propagation of Greek civilization.

Outside of the tremendous differences which have been made in our day through the applications of mechanical power and scientific invention to the processes of production and intercourse, the life of a Greek city in the three centuries preceding the Christian era was extremely modern. Existence was comfortable and full. The construction of a network of roads and easy access to the sea brought about a voluminous commerce in which were carried all the commodities of dress and diet and household comfort which the known world produced. Greek fashions of architecture were applied in the construction of homes and public buildings, and Greek sculpture and paintings were used in their beautification. Towns large and small had their theaters and their

baths. The public library erected by a public-spirited citizen to commemorate his virtues or by a ruler to condone his rascality, was a common feature of town life, and no market place was complete without its bookseller who offered for sale the multitudinous output of a literary age. The copying of books became a business of importance, for which slaves were trained, and no pretentious household

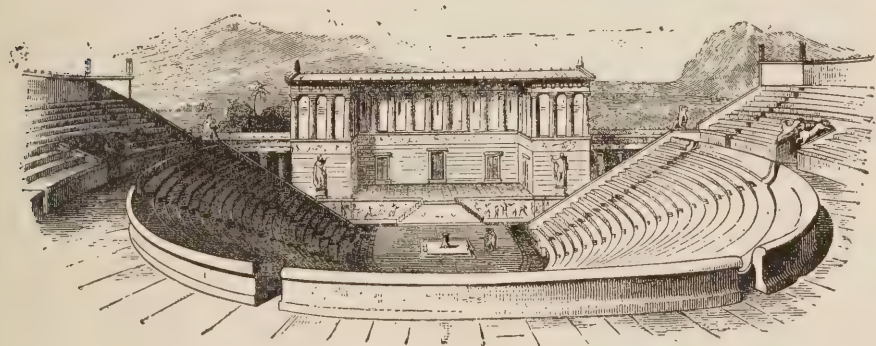


Fig. 10. — Theater at Segesta in Sicily as restored by Strack. Taken from Schreiber. This theater was built in the pre-Christian era. The actors stood upon the stage in the background, while the chorus were to be found in the open space in front of the stage. The remains of this theater are among the most complete known, as the foundations of the stage and most of the seats of the auditorium are still to be seen.

was complete without its amanuensis to take letters from dictation in shorthand. The society which lived in these cities was a cultivated society, finding its activities conditioned at every turn by the possession of a literary education.¹ Hence, there were to be found, as matter of course, schools in which the oncoming generation could be prepared for

¹ Recent information gained from the translation of Egyptian papyri throws much light on the very general ability of the middle and lower classes of Hellenistic society to read and write.

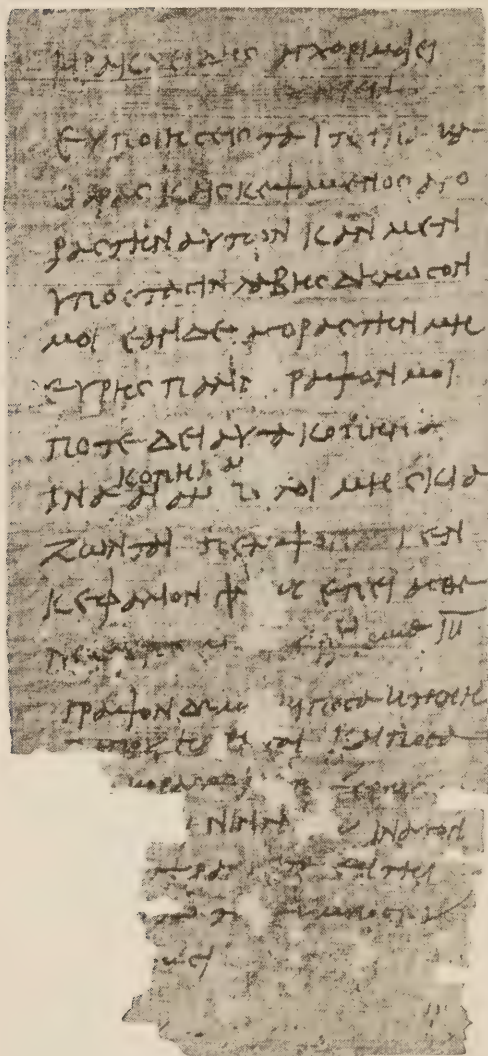


Fig. 11. — A papyrus letter of the first Christian century from the owner of a farm to his agent. The letter is translated as follows: Heraclides to Anchorimphis greeting.

Please clean out the willows and look out for a buyer for them. If you take a statement of sale (?) show it to me, but if you do not find a buyer, write to me again. When these must be cut in order that the vines may not be shaded too much, send me a sweet palm crown since I am rather sickly. Goodby.

The translation and the photograph are taken from Westermann and Kraemer, *Greek Papyri*, Columbia University Press, 1926.

the environment of their mature years, and here and there throughout the Greek world were centers of the intellectual life which served as higher institutions of learning. And in all this urban world — this world of business and political administration, of public gathering and private society, of teaching and learning, and of making of books without end — the language used was Greek.

The institutionalizing of education. — If the period of Athenian history ex-

tending between the adoption of the democratic constitution of Cleisthenes and Philip's conquest saw the creation of a subject matter of secondary and higher education, the centuries immediately following saw the development of institutions for the efficient transmission of those materials to the generation of youth; namely, the grammar school and the equivalent of our modern university. As has been seen in an earlier chapter, the literary aspect of elementary instruction had taken form before the time of the Persian Wars in the music school. Such as it was it represented all the formal literary instruction which the Athenian boy of that era received. Such extensions of his knowledge as occurred in that older time were informal and incidental to a life of contacts with mature society. The teachers of the new learning in the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. offered a new and more advanced kind of literary and scientific knowledge and evidently came to take up considerable of the time of the youths which in the earlier period had been devoted to the work and the contacts of the gymnasium. This new type of education was not organized in teaching institutions, however, until late in the fourth century — and only partly so then. The redistribution of school materials and the graded organization of education was the contribution of the centuries following the Macedonian conquest.

Corresponding to the full range of academic instruction there came to be recognized three grades of schools, which may be assimilated to our elemen-

tary, secondary, and higher education. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret the grades of Greek education in terms of the sharp divisions among schools which have developed in our day under state and national administration. The Greeks had no certification of teachers, no system of promotion upon examination, no college entrance requirements, and no academic degrees. The elementary teacher tended to encroach upon the field of the secondary teacher, and he upon that of the teacher of oratory. Teachers of all grades secured such pupils as they could and held them as long as possible. The parents of pupils were free to send their sons to those teachers whose instruction they thought would be most profitable. Yet with all these limitations upon terminology, the classification of schools had reached a point where at least three distinct grades of instruction may be recognized.

The school of the grammarist. — The name *grammatistes* is derived from the Greek *grammata*, which means, literally, the letters of the alphabet. The *grammatistes*, even in the earliest period of the Greek music school, was he who taught the very elements of literacy — the letters, and their use in reading and writing. As the range of literary subject matter was extended through the development of the distinctions, rules, and classifications of grammar, the philological study of words, the classification of verse forms, and the criticism of authors, a new term was introduced to describe the teacher of the more advanced material, namely, *kritikos* or *grammatikos* or, in the Latin form, *grammaticus*. With this

broadening of the entire scope of literary instruction, the term *grammatistes* was used more and more exclusively to designate the teacher of the literary rudiments, although it is probable that the *grammatistes* tended to introduce in his work some of the materials of scholarship which were the general possession of the educated man of the late centuries of the pre-Christian era. One may think of the *grammatistes* as teaching boys to read and to write and extending this instruction with appropriate material. His functions might be thought of as preparatory to the work of the *grammaticus*, but not alone that, for in an age when business was complex and literary accomplishments were a general possession, the practical utility of an elementary literary education would make it worth while even for those who did not expect to enter the educated and intellectual class. Probably elementary instruction at low cost was made available in the Greek cities of the Alexandrian period to the children of all social classifications for whom it was desired by their parents.

The grammar school. — The institutionalizing of the middle grade of education occurred through the work of the *grammatikos*, and marks the beginning of an organization which has continued through all the succeeding centuries of Western education. The work of the *grammatikos* presupposed the pupil's elementary knowledge of language and built upon it, but beyond that it might be almost anything that was related to "letters" in the wider sense.

Dionysius Thrax (b. c. 166 B.C.), in the earliest treatise on grammar now extant, defined *grammatike* as being "in general the practical knowledge of the usage of writers of poetry and prose." He divided it into six parts: (1) accurate reading, (2) explanation of poetic figures of speech, (3) exposition of rare words and of subject-matter, (4) etymology, (5) statement of regular grammatical forms. These five parts form the "minor" or "imperfect" art of grammar, the "perfect" art including (6) the criticism of poetry, which is the noblest part of all.¹

But even the definition of the field of grammar as given by Dionysius may not indicate the full scope of the grammarian's work unless one has in mind the fact that his instruction was based on the first-hand study of authors. Primarily the selection of materials of study was made out of the field of poetry, but it might include prose works of every interest and description as well. When to this one adds the reflection that poetry as well as prose was employed by the Greeks for the presentation of all kinds of themes, from science to ethics, we must know that the subject matter of the grammarian's instruction covered practically the entire range of Hellenistic culture.

It has been said² that the pupil of secondary school age encountered other teachers besides the grammarian, who taught him arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography. The nature and extent of this scientific instruction do not seem to be well substantiated, and it does not seem to have been a part of the work of the grammarian except in so far as the treatment of a given literary passage would

¹ Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I.

² See Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*.

make necessary some introduction of science materials. The school of the *grammatikos* was a literary school. It dealt with literary content and was a preparation for later studies of oratory and philosophy, which are likewise to be regarded fundamentally as literary subjects. The main error into which one is likely to fall in his understanding of the Greek grammar school is to think of it in the narrower sense of the word grammar. In contemporary usage grammar means the treatment of the mechanics of language — definitions, syntax, diagraming, analysis, parsing — and only that. The Greek grammar school, on the other hand, was primarily a study of literature — a study of whole literary works. The technical elements of language were introduced in this connection, but probably not for long as separated from their embodiment in literature. If in its more elementary phases the work of the *grammatikos* dealt with formal grammar and the beginnings of prosody, in its higher reach it became literary criticism and appreciation. Walden in his *The Universities of Ancient Greece* has summed up the work of the grammarian very admirably as follows :

The special field of the [*grammatikos*] was the exposition and illustration of the poets, but the range of his instruction was broad and included questions from many fields — grammar, meter, history, morals, science, etc. Much attention was given to clear enunciation and good expression. The texts of the authors read were discussed and analyzed, and beauties of thought and expression were pointed out and commented upon. Sometimes literary appreciations were attempted. In illustrating and expounding his authors the teacher would take the opportunity to communicate to his pupils a mass of antiquarian and other lore,

would discuss questions of etymology and the meaning of words, and would at times, doubtless, suggest emendations of the text. As time went on, the dignity and importance of the *grammatikos* increased and in the later centuries of pagan education he became in many cities a recognized factor of the university, with imperial or municipal appointment.

For many centuries, well-to-do parents in the Greek portion of the great Roman Empire, continued as a matter of course either to send their boys to a grammar school or to provide them with private instruction in the range of subject matter taught in that grade of school. Familiarity with the literature of his native tongue, with the scientific knowledge which was current in his age, and with the philosophical systems according to which he might direct his conduct was as necessary to the citizen of social standing as is acquaintance with the materials of secondary instruction to middle-class Europeans to-day. From a Greek writer of the early second Christian century, Plutarch (46-120 A.D.), we get some insight into the educational aims and methods of that time.

Plutarch is famous in literature as the author of *Lives of Illustrious Men* and *Moral Essays*, and in the humanistic curriculum of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries his works were widely studied by the schoolboys of Europe. Plutarch discusses the aims and methods of education in an essay entitled "The Training of Children," which sets up a noteworthy educational procedure in opposition to some of the worst practices of his times. Plutarch was a conservative in all his habits. At a period

when intellectuals of his social class were eagerly experimenting with religious novelties, he continued reverently and gravely to worship the gods of the old religion although he did so as one rationally emancipated through philosophical studies. For Plutarch the chief aim of education is moral development and to that end the most important subject of study is seen to be philosophy.

We learn by it [he says] how we are to demean ourselves towards the Gods, towards our parents, our elders, the laws, strangers, governors, friends, wives, children, and servants. That is, we are to worship the Gods, to honor our parents, to reverence our elders, to be subject to the laws, to obey our governors, to love our friends, to use sobriety towards our wives, to be affectionate to our children, and not to treat our servants insolently; and (which is the chiefest lesson of all) not to be overjoyed by prosperity nor too much dejected in adversity; not to be dissolute in our pleasures, nor in our anger to be transported with brutish rage and fury.¹

Plutarch points out the differences in the original nature of children, discusses the potentialities of nurture, pleads the importance of home environment and good character in teachers, and gives many other practical hints in the conduct of the moral education of youth. Is it, perhaps, indicative of the fact that the technical organization of the schools at his time had been rather completely standardized, that he dismisses with the briefest mention the subject matter of instruction?

I think it is not necessary to spend many more words about this point, the instruction of children in learning. Only it may be profitable at least, or even necessary, not to omit procuring

¹ Translation by Ford in Plutarch's *Morals*, edited by Goodwin.

for them the writings of ancient authors, but to make such a collection of them as husbandmen are wont to do of all needful tools. For of the same nature is the use of books to scholars as being the tools and instruments of learning, and withal enabling them to derive knowledge from its proper fountains.¹

Higher learning in the Alexandrian Age. — Before considering the institutionalizing of higher education it is desirable to note something of the quality and the achievements of the higher intellectual life during the Alexandrian period. The fact has already been noted that in the centuries following the loss of independence of the city-states the creative impulse seemed to be dead. All the writers of epics, dramas, histories, and all the other literary forms of a particularly voluminous age, seemed to be dealing with old material in an imitative manner. Everything written seemed to smack of the library and the study and to be more or less remote from fresh life. It was the golden age of the systematizer, the critic, the research scholar, and the university professor. It was a time of great erudition and little genius. Its culture

appealed not to the general body of free citizens, but to the cultivated few, who formed a separate class of men, of learned and critical tastes, either actually enjoying or attempting to attract the favor of the court, amid the multitudinous population of a vast commercial city.²

The names of the first four librarians of the great library of Alexandria are Zenodotus, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus, who in

¹ Ford, *op. cit.*

² Sandys, *op. cit.*

succession presided over that institution from its foundation in about 295 B.C. to 146 B.C. They were all among the greatest scholars of their time, and the record of their intellectual interests and activities reminds us of a part of the university output of to-day. Zenodotus prepared a dictionary of Homeric words, and brought out the first scientific edition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which he based on the most ancient manuscripts he could find with the intention of reproducing the original Homer. Eratosthenes was a great geographer, mathematician, astronomer, and historian. He wrote a learned historical work on the victors in the Olympian games and found his greatest literary labor in a critical edition in twelve books of the Old Attic Comedy. Aristophanes of Byzantium “reduced accentuation and punctuation to a definite system,”¹ was a scholarly critic of Homeric texts, edited the *Theogony* of Hesiod and the works of the lyric poets, Alcæus, Anacreon, and Pindar, and of Euripides and Aristophanes. He wrote introductions to the plays of the great dramatists and systematized the writings of Plato. He wrote important lexicographical works and made an important contribution to the recognition of the Greek declensions. Aristarchus, the fourth librarian, when he died, left behind him eight hundred volumes of lecture notes and a long list of critical treatises on the text of Homer and other poets. He made a definite contribution to the study of grammar, being among the earliest to recognize the eight parts of speech as we have them to-day and doing much to

¹ Sandys, *op. cit.*

further the recognition of declensions. These four scholars of the Alexandrian Age are only representative of many others — rivals or followers — who have left their works as the subject matter of classical research or who are embalmed in the pages of their contemporaries or their historians.

The four men named above, as is evident from their appointment as head of the great Alexandrian Library, were primarily interested in literary research, and this makes it all the more noteworthy that one of their number, Eratosthenes, is more generally known for his contributions to the sciences of geography and mathematics, of which his most spectacular work was the calculation of the circumference of the earth, which he, with all scientific men of his day, thought to be spherical, at 28,000 miles. A certain universality of scholarly interest and achievement was a characteristic common to many of the learned men of the pre-Christian era.

No man of his age represents this breadth of learning better than Aristotle. He wrote on metaphysics, or the nature of being, which he himself preferred to speak of as first philosophy or theology. To him are ascribed twenty-six scientific works, of which at least eighteen are thought certainly to be of his own composition. These include treatises on cosmology, astronomy, general biology, botany, zoölogy, meteorology, psychology, physics, and mechanics, in which Aristotle dealt with the subject either comprehensively or with reference to some specific aspects of the field. He created the science of formal logic in six treatises which, grouped to-

gether, came to be called the *Organon*, that is to say, the "instrument." He wrote a book on rhetoric and another on poetics, in which latter he discussed the theory of dramatic composition. His *Nicomachean Ethics* is an ethical treatise dealing with the good of the individual, while his *Politics* is a work on political science, or on the good of the state. A work on economics is sometimes ascribed to him. Of a considerable number of historical works in which he traced out the political evolution of particular cities, only one is extant, namely, *The Constitution of Athens*.

Hardly less catholic in his interests than Aristotle was Theophrastus, who succeeded the former as head of the Lyceum which Aristotle founded. Diogenes Laertius (c. 325 A.D.) in his *Lives of the Philosophers*, lists 227 works by Theophrastus dealing with the fields of "religion, politics, ethics, education, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, logic, meteorology, and other natural sciences." He was an orator of distinction and one of his works on rhetoric was quoted by Cicero. Among his extant works are fifteen books (rolls) on the subject of botany.¹

It is evident that men like Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Euclid built largely with materials that had been furnished them by their predecessors in the richly creative fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and there is good evidence that these great organizers and systematizers owed much to the collaboration of their

¹ See Theophrastus, *Inquiry into Plants*, tr. by Holt, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

co-workers or followers. These circumstances do not, however, detract from the great service which they rendered to science and learning. They represent a later and essential stage in the process of developing the rich Greek heritage which eventually found its way through direct or roundabout paths into our Western culture and life. Aristotle, for example, in his epoch-making works on logic, employed a great deal that had been created and used by the many teachers of argumentation in the immediately preceding century and a half; but he, through his accurate classifications and definitions of logical terms, through his orderly arrangement of the combinations of propositions in syllogisms, and through his drastic elimination of all those combinations which were fallacious, gave the world what his followers called the *Organon*, the instrument of orderly deductive proof from given data. Euclid, the great systematizer of geometry, was largely indebted to his predecessors for proofs of theorems; but in his *Elements* he organized the materials of geometry and the theory of proportion according to classifications and placed geometrical proof on a solid basis of axiomatic truth and rigorous logic. Truly the work of these great systematizers was not without its very substantial element of originality, and their social service in making available a critically organized and comprehensive body of scientific knowledge for succeeding generations was a contribution of the first magnitude.

It will be impossible in this connection to attempt any extensive treatment of the work of the later

Greek mathematicians, scientists, and geographers, but we may get some hint of their activities from a rapid notation of some of their outstanding achievements. We may say again of Euclid, the first professor of mathematics in the foundation at Alexandria, that he organized the subject of plane geometry as it has come down to the present with scarcely a change or addition and that he made important contributions to what we know as the science of algebra. The outstanding achievement of Eratosthenes (c. 230 B.C.) in geodesy has already been mentioned. Aristarchus (c. 260 B.C.) believed that the opposite side of the earth was inhabited and could be reached by sailing westward, that the sun was many times larger than the earth, and that the earth revolved on its axis and around the sun. His contributions to mathematics are also important. Hipparchus (c. 140 B.C.) made substantial contributions to the science of trigonometry and mathematical astronomy, which work was extended later by Heron of Alexandria (c. 50 A.D.) and Menelaus (c. 100 A.D.). The theory of astronomy which came down into the Western World as authoritative until the time of Copernicus (sixteenth century) was developed by Ptolemy (c. 130 A.D.), an astronomer and mathematician of Alexandria, whose most famous work is the *Almagest*. A very fair science of geography was created through the work of men like Eratosthenes and Strabo (64 B.C.-21 A.D.). Archimedes (c. 225 B.C.) is famous for his researches in mathematics and physics, being credited with the discovery of the principle of the lever and the law of

specific gravity. Hierophilus, a physiologist connected with the University of Alexandria, discovered the brain to be the seat of conscious life, identified the nerves as the pathways of mental communication, and classified nerves in terms practically identical with our "afferent" and "efferent."

But why multiply particular instances of scholarly men and the high points of their scientific endeavor? It was an age which provided the opportunity for men of intellectual interests to study, write, and teach, and thus to create a great wealth of scientific knowledge which came back into the current of Western life in and after the twelfth century and served at once as a foundation and a stimulus for later scientific achievement.

The importance of ethical philosophy. — Just a word about the status of philosophical studies during this period seems to be essential to this narrative. There has never been another time in the Western tradition when philosophy was of as universal interest as it was in the period from about 300 B.C. to about 300 or 400 A.D. It was a time of intellectual emancipation from naturalistic religion and customary morals and of the alienation of the individual from any large political loyalty, so that the meaning of the individual's life and the question as to what he had best do with it became for each person of education and intelligence a serious problem. In fact it was almost incumbent upon the educated man to choose for himself a philosophy of life. Naturally the philosophies most in vogue turned largely upon the ethical problem — What is the best way of life?

— but the two dominant philosophies, Stoicism and Epicureanism, based the solution of the ethical problem upon metaphysical grounds.

The Stoics continued the idealistic tradition of Plato and Aristotle. They held the inner constitution of reality to be noumenal, or rational. The rational principle, “in whom we live and move and have our being” coerced and controlled the physical world. Divine law, the “logos” ruled the universe and appeared in mankind as the principle of indwelling reason which enabled the individual to rule his life. The ethical principle that was dominant was the control of the natural instincts and desires through reason. The ethical result was an effort to keep in harmony with the rational law of the universe, to live in acquiescence with “the will of God.” This philosophy appealed to the heroic in man and was accepted by many of those who in the Graeco-Roman World, according to our standards, lived serious and noble lives.

The Epicurean philosophy adopted as its metaphysical basis the atomistic materialism of Democritus, which might be stated as follows: the universe is composed of individual material atoms and its history is simply the story of the fortuitous concurrence of those material parts; the mind is only a finer kind of matter and when the individual’s bodily existence comes to an end, he disappears as a separate entity, while the atoms which had constituted him go into a new series of combinations. Since this earthly life was all that needed to be considered, the Epicureans conceived the problem of life to be how to

get the most out of it while it lasted. The best way to get the most out of life, they thought, was to wring out of existence the largest sum of pleasures, or the greatest amount of happiness. But this is somewhat of a puzzle, for the grosser and more acute pleasures of the body soon take their revenge in illness or satiety. Best seek the pleasures of the mind, then, rather than those of the body, things that please the eye and the refined artistic taste, pleasures of companionship and intellectual pursuits, with only a minimum of the raw enjoyments of physical appetite. Accepted by a noble character, this philosophy of life might, as indeed it sometimes did, work out into a refined and beautiful existence, but all too many of those who adopted it as their guide, sought it as the cloak of indulgence, so that, generally speaking, it became synonymous with giving rein to the more sordid aspects of physical enjoyment.

Under the caption "Higher Learning in the Alexandrian Age" an attempt has been made to exhibit the nature of the intellectual interests and occupations of men of learning and also of those men of education and culture who did not belong to the professionally learned or teaching class. A further effort has been made to show some of the very substantial achievements of scholarship, philosophy, and science which the great minds of the age contributed and which must have entered into the instruction given by hosts of their followers and imitators to the youths of six centuries who desired an education to fit them for cultured circles of society.

And in so doing there has been schematically exhibited the major part of an intellectual heritage which, long centuries after and through roundabout channels, will again return after a long period of intellectual night to enrich the life of western Europe and powerfully to aid in the creation of our modern world.

The institutionalizing of higher education. — It has been impossible to tell the story of the higher education of the last centuries of Greek antiquity without referring here and there to some of the institutions in which research and authorship were principally carried on. It seems desirable, however, to treat this phase of ancient education with at least a moderate degree of system. There are three forms of institutions of higher learning that deserve mention, namely, the philosophical schools, the schools of oratory, and the great research foundations, such as the one at Alexandria and the one at Pergamum.

The philosophical schools. — When Plato died in 347 B.C. he bequeathed his house and his estate to his nephew who in turn bequeathed them to Xenocrates in trust for the pupils of the school, which was known as the Academy. In this way a permanent foundation was established for the maintenance of a school. The association of the members was in the form of a religious brotherhood devoted to scientific research and instruction. In general the history and organization of the other schools closely resembled that of the Academy. Aristotle was the founder of the Peripatetic school, more popularly known as the

Lyceum, and we have already (see p. 91) had occasion to observe the labors of his first successor, Theophrastus. Zeno founded the Stoic school, and Epicurus gave his name to a foundation for his followers, known as the Epicurean school. These schools were in their origin established to carry on the teachings of their founders, but in no case did they for long adhere to the original canon. They were rather centers of scholarship and scholarly output. Moreover, they were centers of teaching: "To these schools, or colleges, during the first three hundred years after their foundation, students of all ages came in great numbers, from all quarters of the Greek world and, during a part of that time, from the Western World as well."¹

The schools of oratory. — A second definitely recognizable type of higher institution of learning was the school of oratory. The first notable example of its kind was the school founded in Athens by Isocrates, who lived to a ripe old age and died in 338 B.C., the year of the Battle of Chaeronea. Thus it is seen that the school to which he brought so great fame and success flourished before the Alexandrian period. The curriculum of the school was centered upon the production of an effective public speaker and to that end included the rich and extensive material of rhetoric proper, but it had in mind also the broader objective of turning out an accomplished and cultivated man of affairs. In one of his works Isocrates summed up the varying results of his instruction as follows:

¹ Walden, *op. cit.*

Some of the students are turned out perfect masters [of oratory]; some, able teachers; while those who have chosen to live a private life are rendered more cultivated in their intercourse with others than they were before, and more exact judges and counsellors of speech than the majority of men.¹

In his oration on "The Exchange of Estates," Isocrates gives further evidence of the broad scope of his instruction. He denies the slander which has represented him as a writer of speeches to be delivered by others in law courts and insists that his work is an honorable branch of prose literature.

Some prose-writers have spent their lives in tracing the genealogies of the Heroes. Others have been critics of the poets. Others have compiled histories of wars. Others have woven discussions into dialogues. My work has lain in yet another field, — in the composition of discourses bearing upon the politics of all Hellas, and fitted for recitation at Panhellenic gatherings. Such discourses evidently stand nearer to poetry than to forensic rhetoric. Their language is more imaginative and more ornate; there is greater amplitude, more scope for originality, in the thoughts which they strive to express. They are as popular as poems; and the art of writing them is much studied. Unlike forensic speeches, they deal with matters of universal interest; they have a lasting value, independent of any special occasion.²

Isocrates regarded the work of his school as a type of liberal, or cultural, education and broader in its scope than the work of the schools of philosophy. The form into which instruction fell was the development of an accomplished speaker, but the means used included all the resources of cultivation available in his day.

¹ Walden, *op. cit.*

² See Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education*, p. 98.

The clientele of a school of oratory was so largely dependent upon the reputation of its head that there was not in this branch of higher education the permanence that the schools of philosophy enjoyed. We have the names of many noted teachers of oratory who attracted large numbers of students to them in Athens, Rhodes, Pergamum, and later in Rome and Marseilles. In a later connection will be shown the great influence exerted upon Roman culture by the oratorical schools of the Greek world and the same institution will be encountered in Latin dress. Suffice it to say that the school of oratory became and remained for many centuries one of the recognized and popular agencies of higher education. The more detailed account of its curriculum will be postponed until the school of oratory is considered as the dominant higher educational institution of Rome.

Research foundations. — The beginning of the great scholarly center of Alexandria was made with the founding of the great library by Ptolemy Soter (295 B.C.). To this was added the museum, or temple of the Muses, during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), to which was attached a smaller library — that of the Serapeum. The museum was a building, but primarily it was a group of men who were maintained by the government to engage in a life work of research and writing and, possibly, of teaching. The president of the body was nominated by the government and had the standing of a priest. The physical plant included “a covered walk, an arcade furnished with recesses and seats, and a large building containing a common

hall, in which the scholars met for their meals.” “We may realize [the character] of the institution better by regarding it as a kind of prototype of a college at Oxford or Cambridge, with its common hall for dining and its cloisters and grounds, and with some provision for the endowment of research.”¹

It is not definitely known what connection existed between the museum and the libraries, but it must have been close, since the type of research carried on in Alexandria was necessarily dependent upon access to a large library. The great library of Alexandria may justly be regarded as the equivalent of our very greatest university or public libraries. It is reported as possessing 700,000 volumes in the middle of the first century B.C. and may be supposed to have contained an almost complete list of extant literature.

The greatest literary rival of Alexandria was Pergamum, the capital of the Attalid dynasty which ruled over the northern part of what is now called Asia Minor from about 283 B.C. until its final fusion in the Roman Empire. Here arose the great Pergamene Library, and learning flourished among scholars and teachers attracted by the generosity of the ruling house. Among the other great centers of higher learning in the Graeco-Roman world should be mentioned Antioch, Tarsus, Rhodes, and, in the Christian era, Byzantium.

It is a bit anomalous to apply the term university to these ancient foundations and centers of scholarly activity and instruction. The form and organization of what is now called a university had a medieval

¹ Sandys, *op. cit.*

origin. The ancient foundations had no charter, no examinations, and no degrees, which are central in the modern conception of a university. They had, however, in a sense a corporate existence and they also exhibited the substantial criteria of a university, namely, the spirit and practice of scholarship and an arrangement for passing on the fruits of research.

Greece under Roman rule. — It is a difficult matter to place any time limits upon the Hellenistic period. The political control of Greece proper passed to Rome in 146 B.C. and in the century following that date the Roman armies reduced the entire area included in the Alexandrian Empire to the status of provinces of Rome. In the last two centuries B.C. there was a damaging relaxation of civil administration in Greece, so that piracy and brigandage flourished. The former center of Hellenic civilization also suffered a great deal from the demands of the opposing parties in the Roman civil wars, and Roman tax gatherers were ruthless in their exactions. As a result, learning underwent a sharp decline in those centuries and was only revived when the Roman Emperors of the late first and early second Christian centuries showed favor to the ancient centers of culture. It will be seen, however, that, in varying degrees of vitality at different times, the Greek learning outlasted the Roman Empire in the West, withstood in some sense the Mohammedan Conquest and continued in Constantinople, its last citadel, until the capture of that place by the Turks in 1453. It seems best to consider this later civilization and culture from this point on in its relations

(1) to Roman institutional and intellectual life, (2) to the origins of Christianity, and (3) as taken up into Saracen civilization under the Caliphate of Bagdad.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. THORNDIKE, L., *A Short History of Civilization*, Chs. XII and XIII, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1926. — Presents the more important political developments of the period following the Macedonian Conquest as well as a good picture of the life of the times.

2. FAIRWEATHER, W., *Jesus and the Greeks*, Part I, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1924. — Provides a more extensive treatment of the same period.

3. MAHAFFY, J. P., *Greek Life and Thought*, Macmillan, London, 1896. — An old, but useful, work on Hellenistic civilization.

4. WALDEN, J. W., *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. — A scholarly and comprehensive account of education in the Greek world after the Macedonian Conquest.

5. SANDYS, J. E., *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I, Chs. VIII and IX, Cambridge University Press, 1903. — Describes the development of literary scholarship.

6. SMITH, D. E., *Mathematics*, in "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" Series, Jones (Marshall) Co., Boston, 1923. — Presents in an interesting way the Greek contribution to mathematics.

7. SEDGWICK, W. T., and TYLER, H. W., *A Short History of Science*, Chs. V and VI, Macmillan, 1918, and WILLIAMS, H. S. and E. H., *A History of Science*, Vol. I, Ch. IX, Harper and Brothers, 1904. — Describe the Greek contributions to science.

8. BAIKIE, J., *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus Hunting*, Religious Tract Society, London, 1925, and MILLIGAN, G., *Here and There among the Papyri*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1923. — Reveal Hellenistic culture as shown by a study of the more recently discovered papyri.

CHAPTER V

THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF ROME

THE preceding chapters of this book have sketched out the part played by the Greeks in the creation of Western culture and education. Beginning on a low culture level, but aided by favorable political and economic circumstances, the Hellenic genius created during the late pre-Christian centuries a heritage of art, of literature, of philosophy, of science, and of educational institutions which later generations, in varying degrees, have utilized. Rome, the conqueror of the Greek world, was closely dependent upon Greek culture in all the manifestations which have just been mentioned. To the end, Rome remained inferior to Greece in respect to proficiency in pure art forms. Its literature found its models and, to a great degree, its actual content, in that of Greece. Its philosophy throughout was an importation from Greece. Its pure science, what little there was of scientific interest in Rome, was hardly more than a Latinizing of Greek achievement. Its educational institutions and the subject matter of instruction, had their very definite counterpart in the educational practices of the Hellenistic Age and were directly transferred to Rome and naturalized in Latin dress. Under the late Republic and under the

Empire, Greek culture lived on in Roman life. To be sure, the heritage was Latinized and the borrowing was selective and adaptive, but the indebtedness was not thereby lessened. From the standpoint of the aspects of culture which have been seen as developing in the Greek world we may well think of Rome as standing in a position of tutelage to the older and — with respect to art, science, and philosophy — superior civilization.

To stop with that judgment would give, however, a very inadequate conception of the contribution made by Rome to succeeding centuries and to the developing whole of Western culture. In the matter of literature the statement as to Latin dependence must be qualified, for the literature created by Rome is a noble literature and so permeated with the Latin genius that it may properly be thought of as in some sense independent and original. And certainly from the standpoint of its influence upon succeeding generations it has much more largely entered into the experience of Western society than has the more brilliant product of Greece, if for no other reason than that the latter has been in great part forever lost and much of it lives on only in so far as it has contributed to the skill of Latin masters. The distinctive contributions of Rome were not, however, in the field of fine arts or science, but in the mastery of the art of securing justice for the individual in his civil relationships and in the art of organizing and managing a large-pattern political system. Deserving of special mention also is the outstanding practical achievement of the Romans in the field of civil

and mechanical engineering as applied to human comfort and efficiency.

From city-state to empire. — At the close of the sixth century B.C. (509 B.C.), Rome was an insignificant city-state near the mouth of the river Tiber in Italy. Her population of farmers and tradesmen were a practical-minded lot with a genius for military pursuits, politics, and business. At about the middle of the third century B.C. the power of the city on the Tiber had been extended over all of Italy to the Apennines in the north. Before the third century was out, this dominion had been extended to the Alps in the north, and over the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. By 133 B.C. Rome had conquered her rival, Carthage, thus adding a province in the north of Africa and what is now Spain, and had laid under tribute a considerable portion of the Greek world, including the Aegean Peninsula and most of Asia Minor.

In spite of devastating civil wars during the next century, the eagles continued their advance unchecked, until at the death of Augustus Caesar in 14 A.D., the lands under the dominion of Rome, with two unimportant exceptions, completely girdled the Mediterranean Sea. Britain remained free from permanent occupation by the Romans at that time, but the boundary of the Empire (for one may so speak of it) on the north was the Rhine and the Danube rivers and the Black Sea. Practically all of Asia Minor to the south of the Black Sea was in Roman hands, and in the east the Roman legions were at grips with the rulers of the Parthian Empire.

To the south the Roman authority extended to the Desert, and in the west to the Atlantic Ocean. The succeeding centuries up to the reign of Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) saw the further extension of the Empire to include what is now England and the southern part of Scotland, a narrow strip to the north of the river Rhine, taken from the Germans for a military outpost, a considerable section to the north of the Danube, which included what is now Roumania, a territory which was up until recently Armenia, and what is now the western part of Persia, to the Euphrates River.

In the earlier period of this career of conquest and expansion, that is to say, until about the beginning of the Christian era, the Roman citizens of the city on the Tiber had thought of themselves as having laid the conquered peoples under tribute. The little oligarchy of Roman officials, jealous of extending the privileges of Roman citizenship to outsiders, had fattened upon their unique opportunities for plunder and their unexampled position of business advantage. However, the tough farmer stock, which had been largely responsible for the military success of Rome, had been largely worn out by almost continuous warfare, and even in times of peace was finding it impossible to make a living in competition with capitalistic agriculture on the basis of slave labor which was becoming more and more prevalent. So that by the time of Augustus Caesar, the core of Roman economic and social life was unsound. The population of Rome was then composed of a relatively small group of the official and capitalistic class, and a great

rabble of poor who were being maintained out of the public treasury and kept amused through lavish expenditures upon public spectacles in the circus and the amphitheater. A great part of the good agricultural land of Italy was occupied as country estates of the wealthy and was relatively unproductive. The capital and the homeland of the Empire were dependent upon the frontier states for the staples of existence. And what is even more significant, they were becoming progressively dependent upon the frontier states for their armies and, ultimately, for military and administrative leadership. For the first three Christian centuries, however, the city of Rome and the imperial government there enthroned were to maintain themselves as unquestioned sovereigns of the Western World.

The old Roman. — Up to and even beyond the middle of the third century B.C., the life and culture of Rome were harsh and severely practical. The interests of the citizen were confined to business and to civic responsibilities, whether judicial, military, or administrative. Even the religion of the Romans was a practical sort of bargaining with a host of special divinities who were expected to “make good” in their turn for the attentions shown them by the worshiper in sacrificial acts. Of literature in that early time there was none. Letters were used for business record, for the writing of laws, for communication, and for other practical purposes, but never for the purpose of permanently recording flights of creative imagination or of revealing the tumults and longings of the inner life. The Romans

had no great traditional epic story, which with the first use of letters might have been put into written form. They made no progress in original attempts at verse forms or in dramatic composition. The old Roman knew business, agriculture, civil administration, practical politics, judicial procedure, and war,



Photo by Ewing Galloway

Fig. 12. — Ruins of the Claudian Aqueduct on the Campagna outside of Rome. This aqueduct was begun in 38 A.D. by the Emperor Caligula. The arches shown in the picture supported two separate streams of water. Of these the lower, the *Aqua Claudia*, flowed through forty-four miles of channel, while the upper, the *Anio Novus*, reached Rome after flowing through fifty-seven miles of brick and cement.

and had exceptional skill in the building of roads, aqueducts, and bridges. In art, philosophy, science, and literature he was a barbarian in fact and, it may almost be said, on principle.

Early contacts of Rome with Greek culture. — The first contact of Rome with Greek culture on any considerable scale came with the conquest of southern Italy in the early part of the third pre-Christian century. That section of Italy was Greek in race, language, and civilization. The reduction of Tarentum, the last remaining Greek city on the peninsula, brought on war with the Greek King Pyrrhus, and thus was begun the progressive and ultimately complete invasion of Rome upon the old Greek world. It was but natural that the conquerors, growing in wealth and leisure and in the breadth of their political outlook, should appropriate in part the superior literary and scientific culture of the conquered.

A noteworthy event in the history of Latin culture was the translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin by Livius Andronicus, a Greek who by the fortunes of war was carried after the fall of Tarentum (275 B.C.) to Rome as a prisoner and thus made a slave. Andronicus became a notable figure in Rome and, incidentally, a free man, through his translations into Latin and adaptations of extant Greek tragedies and comedies, which became a significant phase of the recreational life of Rome. "From this time henceforth the whole serious production of Latin poetry for centuries was a continuous effort to master and adapt Greek structure and versification."¹

In the century and a quarter which followed the completion of the Roman conquest of Italy, the city upon the Tiber conquered her great commercial rival, Carthage (146 B.C.) and made Greece (146 B.C.)

¹ Mackail, *Latin Literature*.

and Syria (129 B.C.) Roman provinces. During this period the upper-class Roman was coming to be more and more under the intellectual domination of Greece. Ennius and Naevius were active in producing Greek tragedies and comedies translated, with hardly any adaptation, into the Latin language, while Plautus and Terence drew unblushingly upon the New Greek comedy of Menander and others for Latin plays changed in minor details to meet the taste and correspond to the local conditions of Rome. At the same time the native Roman oratory was becoming self-conscious and analytical in response to the rhetoric of Athens and Rhodes.

The progressive adoption of Greek culture during this period was not without its opponents, most notable and picturesque among whom was the Elder Cato. Born a plebeian and rising to the highest political office in Rome, he reflected to the end of his life the strict integrity and the intense devotion to Rome which was the idealization of an already distant past. He strenuously opposed the new-fangled philosophy and literature and play-acting and the ostentatious luxury which had been brought into Rome from the Greek world. For himself the virtues and the amenities of the simpler and harder life of the old Roman ways were all sufficient. But even Cato could not altogether hold out against the new intellectual influences that were streaming into Rome in the form of Greek slaves, Greek statuary, Greek libraries, and Greek teachers, upon the return of every expedition of conquest or of civil administration. "In his old age he learned Greek himself,

and read deeply in the masterpieces of that Greek literature from which he was too honest and too intelligent to be able to withhold his admiration.”¹

Rome under the cultural sway of Greece.— If after 146 B.C., upon the conquest of Macedonia, Greece became a province of the Roman political state, no less did Rome become a province of the Greek empire of intellect and taste. Scarcely was there a great Roman between Cato and Augustus Caesar (Marius is the most noteworthy exception) who was not indebted to Greek teachers for an important part of his preparation for the rôle which he played in Roman affairs. The Gracchi were steeped in the ethical and political philosophy of Greece. Scipio Aemilianus was a scholarly representative of the new intellectual fashion and the center and patron of the most active literary and philosophical circles of Rome in his day. Crassus, Pompey, Mark Antony, Cicero, Julius Caesar, and Octavianus (later Augustus Caesar), all continued in the educational centers of the East the graecized Latin studies which they had begun in Rome. Lucretius during this first pre-Christian century created out of the technicalities of the Epicurean philosophy the noble poem *De Rerum Natura*. In this same century Varro, reputed on account of his six or seven hundred volumes to have been among the most learned men of his day, was responsible for the transfer into the Latin of a great amount of Greek philosophy and science. His *Disciplinarum libri novem* (A Discussion of the Arts and Sciences in Nine Books) represents an important

¹ Mackail, *Latin Literature*.

step in the naturalization of the materials of Greek learning in the schools of Rome. Indeed, a polymath of a later and much less cultivated era, Martianus Capella, makes Philosophy say in *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, "After the golden stream of Plato and the genius of Aristotle the work of Marcus Terentius Varro was the first to entice me into speaking Latin, and to make it possible to speak in the Latin schools."¹

The place of Cicero in the Latinizing of Greek culture.—However, of all the men who were active during the first century B.C. in the labor of making the fruits of Greek genius a part of the working culture of Rome, none deserves so high a place as Cicero. Educated at Rome by the best Greek and Latin teachers of his day, he continued his studies of oratory and philosophy in Athens and Rhodes. Aided by this equipment he won a distinguished position as a pleader in the courts and a debater in the senate and the public forum. The achievement of those years of active public life is largely preserved to us in a long list of orations and a great collection of letters which survived the heavy mortality of eight centuries of medieval neglect. And in the intervals, mainly toward the end, of his political career, Cicero turned to the production of a group of literary and philosophical works which made him, centuries later, the arbiter of style and matter during many generations of European culture.

Early political conditions in Rome favored the

¹ See Cole, *Later Roman Education*; also pp. 210 ff. of present volume.

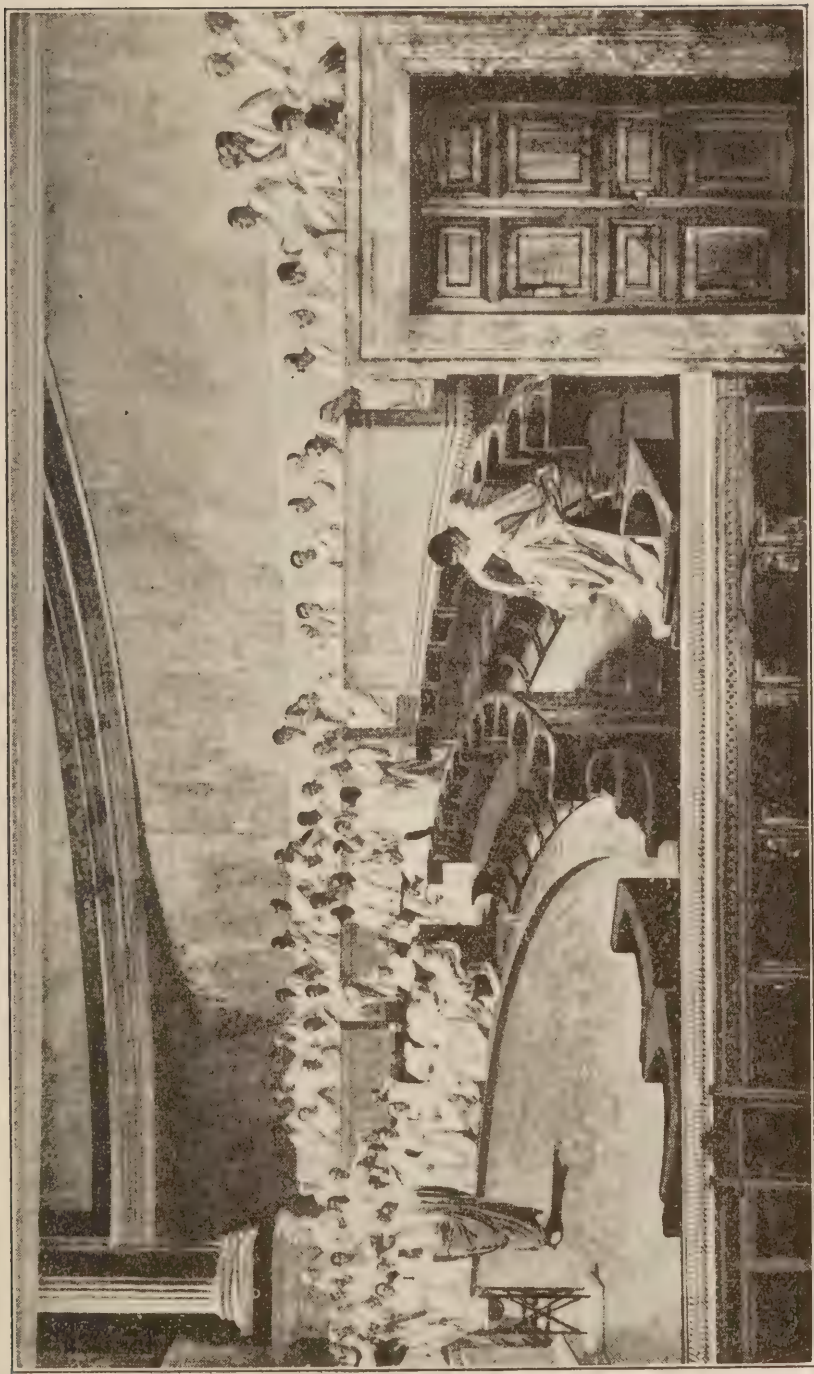


Fig. 13. — Cicero accusing Catiline in the Senate. Painting by Maccari

development of effective public speech, and well before the influence of Greek rhetoricians was felt, there had grown up a long and honorable tradition of Roman oratory. Cicero may be said to have brought to the aid of the native Roman art of public speaking the scientific analysis and the technical instruction which the Greek rhetoricians had elaborated. Believing that his own skill in public speech had been greatly improved by the teachings of his Greek masters, Cicero undertook in the *De Oratore* (*Concerning the Orator*), to make available in a practical manual the whole art of effective public speech. In it he combined with the scientific elements of contemporary Greek instruction in rhetoric the practical bent of the successful pleader in the courts and of the seasoned political debater. While Cicero was a Roman and had the Roman's contempt for the hair-splitting technicalities of the Greek rhetorician, his own practice and above all his treatise on oratory, indicate that the Greek influence had definitely made itself felt in Roman oratory and that, from thenceforth, the utility of the Greek science of rhetoric was recognized as a necessary factor in the complete education of the orator. But Cicero's treatise on oratory had even greater significance than this; for he held that in the perfect development of the orator the entire range of literary and philosophical studies had an important contribution to make. In other words, he held that a Greek literary and philosophical education was useful and necessary in the education of a Roman for the practical business of legal and civil administration.

As if in response to his own conviction of the utility of Greek culture in Roman life, Cicero worked feverishly during his later years in reproducing in the Latin language the best of contemporary Greek thought. In his *De Re Publica* (*Concerning the Commonwealth*), Cicero undertook a philosophical analysis of the meaning of civil government and of the effectiveness of institutions, which is reminiscent of Plato's great purpose in his *Republic*. In a treatise *De Legibus* (*Concerning the Laws*), Cicero attempted no less than the proof of the great principle that laws are much more than a collection of practical rules and judicial precedents and that they should aim at embodying the spirit of a universal justice. Herein we see the definite expression of the influence of the Stoic conception of the law of Nature, which was thought of as pervading the rational acts of mankind no less than it pervaded the operations of natural forces. It was just this conception of the universality of justice, so clearly presented by Cicero, which worked side by side with the expanding practical needs of Roman jurisprudence to create the greatest monument of Roman genius — the Roman civil law.

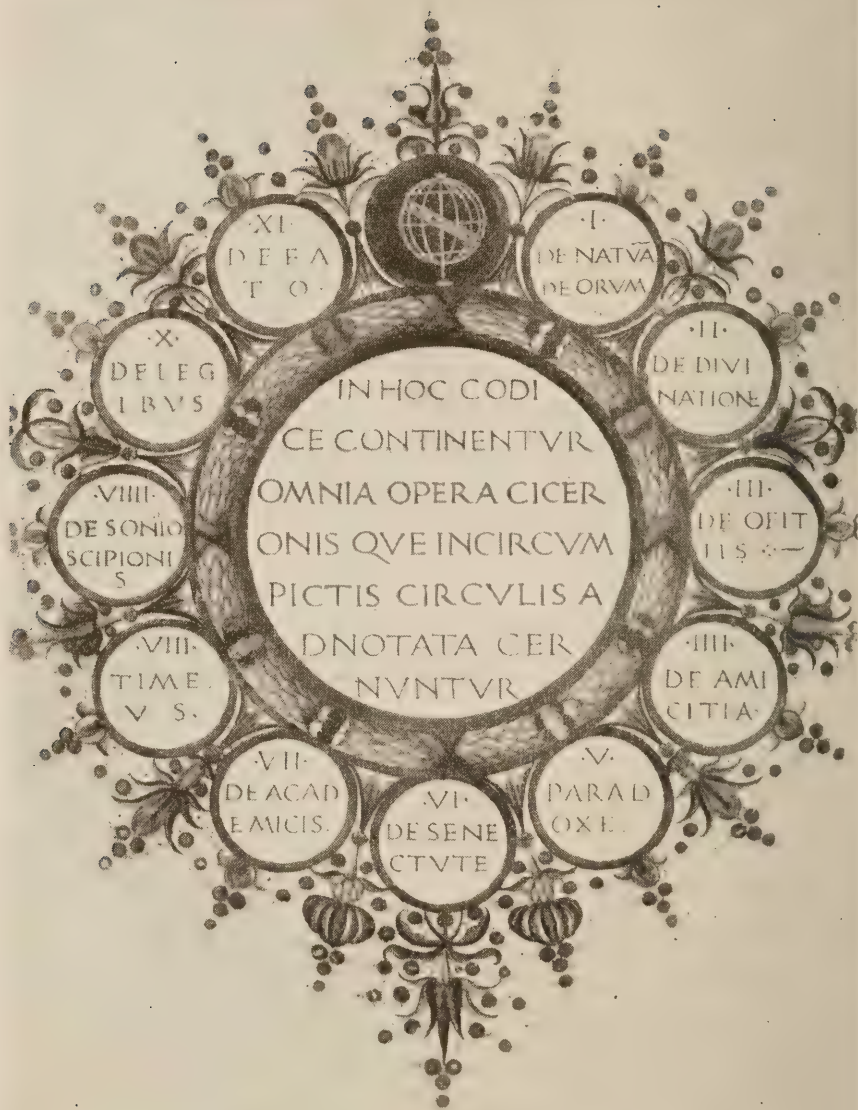
In a series of treatises on philosophical topics, Cicero gave the Roman world what he considered to be the best of contemporary Greek thought. These works are generally described as "popularizing" efforts and Cicero is often characterized as an eclectic, a gatherer or selector, in philosophy and as being superficial. As for the latter implied depreciation, Cicero did only what a man of sanity and bal-

ance was compelled to do in his choice among the existing schools of philosophy. The Epicureans repelled him on account of their denial of the fundamental spiritual nature of reality. Cicero "willed to believe" that nature, human and physical, was at heart rational and moral and he felt the logic of a belief in a divine will running throughout the depth and breadth of life. Accordingly he was drawn to the Stoic doctrine of the "Logos," the principle of divine reason and government in nature, and hence to a belief in the primary sanction of moral purpose in the life of an individual and in the continuance of the individual's personal identity after death. On the other hand, the extreme austerities publicly professed and practiced by the Stoic, his ostentatious disregard of all the amenities that made life comfortable, and refined, and *humane* — to Cicero, the cultivated man of affairs, smacked at once of hypocrisy and fanaticism. Accordingly, in spite of what he considered the false position of the Epicurean school on fundamental issues, Cicero could admire the serenity and the sincerity of the life of Epicurus and many of his professed followers. If Cicero was an eclectic in his philosophy of life, it was because no single school of thought existing in his day saw life whole and thus offended, either through lack of moral purpose, through want of decent respect for the practical demands of life, or through an over-development of intellectual subtlety.

Cicero gave to his contemporaries an account of Greek thought, mainly in dialogue form, in the following works: the *Consolatio* (lost), the *Hor-*

tensius (lost), the *Academica*, the *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *De Natura Deorum*, the *De Divinatione*, the *De Fato* (largely lost), and the *De Officiis*. Closely related to the philosophical works just named are the *De Amicitia* and the *De Senectute*. In his writings Cicero covered the entire range of philosophical speculation. His interest and labors touched upon the problems of reality, or metaphysics; upon the problems of the theory of knowledge, and upon the problems of ethics, or the concrete applications of philosophy to the problems of private and public conduct. Against the frequent disparagement of Cicero — namely, that he was a mere popularizer, without thoroughness or originality — it may be said that it was a commendable and important thing that someone should have taken the technicalities of the professional philosopher and turned them into a serious and graceful literature; that someone should have found an effective Latin vocabulary for the expression of a type of experience which was in no sense native in that tongue; that someone should have made available for the Roman people a philosophical outlook upon existence which became the source of their ability later on to understand Christianity and of their prepossession in its favor.

Latin literature as a part of the western heritage.
— Already have been mentioned some of the great contributors to Latin literature, which, when all is said, may be thought of as one of the great formative influences in the development of modern Western culture. Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, and Cicero



Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library

Fig. 14. — The title-page from a fifteenth century manuscript of Cicero's collected works.

are among the writers who became for later generations of schoolboys or scholars the objects of study and imitation; and if we are to have a fairly complete list of those who prepared the literary legacy of Rome to later times, certainly we must add at least the names of the historians, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, and Suetonius; the poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal; the scientists, Columella and the Elder Pliny; that charming writer of letters, the Younger Pliny; and the scientific educator, Quintilian.

Volumes have been written in exposition and appreciation of Latin literature and this task must be left to those who are equipped to undertake it. However, in order to suggest the significance of this body of literary material for the later intellectual and literary development of western Europe, it is essential that some attempt be made to indicate its nature. This becomes more important when it is remembered that the great bulk of the literature which the Greeks had produced never came directly into the stream of modern European life except as it came through Latin imitations and reproductions, and that for some centuries the knowledge of the Greek language was lost to Europe. This means that when, in the Italian cities in the fourteenth century and progressively thereafter throughout all of Europe, men possessed of wealth and leisure reached out for experiences beyond the commonplaces of business routine or political administration, the only treasury of ideas and taste which was at first available for their enjoyment was that of Latin literature.

Out of Latin literature one gets the reflection of a life of dignity, luxury, and power. It introduces us to men of large affairs dealing with the huge and manifold interests of high political office, of military strategy, of international business, and of weighty judicial litigation involving the fate of vast fortunes and great names. It furnishes an intimate record of great men and stirring events. It exhibits detachment of viewpoint, free play of ideas, and not infrequently nobility of sentiment. It shows us the cultivated mind — educated in the rich experiences of an age of culture — turned inward for self-contemplation and outward in animadversion upon the riddles of human life and the universe. Latin literature exhibits also a keen insight into human nature, which certainly has not changed greatly since the days of Terence and Horace, and offers a humorous depiction of human foibles, which is always a source of recreation and enjoyment. It is further noteworthy for the perfection and the rich variety of its literary forms and its precision, flexibility, and gracefulness of expression. Would one wish to address an audience with dignity and moving power, then let him become the pupil of Cicero. Would one decorate a simple theme of sentiment so that it become a thing of imperishable beauty, let him learn of Horace and Ovid. Would one write such letters to his intimate friends that they may represent for him a claim to immortality, let him make a companion of the Younger Pliny. And so we might continue through a rich variety of literary forms which became for later generations of Italian,

French, and English writers at once the models of perfection and the objects of imitation.

Latin literature brought to the modern Western World all that has been said of it above and more. One may sum up all by recalling the word which was applied to it by its early Italian lovers of the Renaissance. They loved it for its *humanitas* — for what it added to the dignity, the wisdom, the free creativeness, and the charm of human personality.

The Roman civil law. — If Greece emerged from prehistoric antiquity with Homer in her hands, Rome may be said to have entered upon the period of authentic record bearing with her the Laws of the Twelve Tables. These laws, reduced to writing in 450 B.C., were only the definitive statement of legal principles and judicial procedure which had grown up in the course of centuries and been passed down from father to son by word of mouth. The laws had been, previous to their codification, known only to the initiated, which in this case meant the patrician class, and their publication, making them known to all, was an important step in the rise of the plebeians, or common people, to independence and power.

The Laws of the Twelve Tables¹ show that at an early period the Romans had developed an orderly system of law and court practice which governed the most important of the relationships among individuals. The first two of the tables exhibit the system of judicial procedure; the third deals with the execu-

¹ For these laws see Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education*, pp. 334-344.

tion of a judgment against a debtor; the fourth gives the rights of the father; and in the remaining tables are given the laws concerning inheritance and guardianship, concerning sale and contract, concerning fixtures and real property, concerning wrongs against persons, or torts, many of which would now be regarded as crimes committed against the state, and concerning the burial of the dead. Cicero in speaking of the significance of the Laws of the Twelve Tables said that anyone would realize "how far our ancestors excelled other nations in wisdom" if they would compare the Laws of the Twelve Tables with the legislation of the great Greek law-givers, Lycurgus, Draco, and Solon. "It is indeed incredible," he says, "how undigested and almost ridiculous is all civil law, except our own. That single little book of the Twelve Tables, if any one look at the fountains and sources of laws, seems to me, assuredly, to surpass the libraries of all the philosophers, both in weight of authority and in plenitude of utility."¹

It is certainly not a small matter that the Roman patricians, at a time when Rome was only a city-state like the Greek polities before the conquest of Philip, had developed for themselves an orderly and adequate system of law, but it is still more important for the later history of the Western World that, with the expansion of Rome over Italy and finally over its widest area of imperial dominion, the development of law continued to undergo a progressive evolution to make it serviceable in the increasingly intricate and

¹ Cicero, *De Oratore*. Translation quoted from Monroe, *op. cit.*

heterogeneous world of business and personal relationships.

The first great development in the Roman *jus civile*, or as we shall say, civil law, occurred through the admission to full privileges under it of the plebeians. This change, occurring in the fourth century B.C., broke down the exclusive character of the law which had limited its application to the upper class. In 366 B.C. an officer called the praetor was provided whose functions were the administration of the law. It became customary for this officer at the beginning of his term of office to publish the law which was to be followed during his administration with the understanding that as long as he held office no change was to be made. As a matter of fact, the greater part of this law was carried over from preceding administrations, and thus furnished a stable body of law and procedure which served as authority and precedent. On the other hand, the frequent change of office allowed desirable modifications in the law to be made when called for. In this way there were provided the two requisites of a scientific legal system — stability and flexibility.

Meanwhile the spread of Roman dominion over Italy introduced an element which greatly liberalized the civil law, which at first, as we have seen, was only applicable to Roman citizens. The early Roman policy in Italy was to isolate the various conquered portions from one another and to make them directly dependent upon Rome, while at the same time granting the citizens of the conquered cities a degree of independence and admitting them to

rights of commercial intercourse. Rome also planted many colonies of her full citizens in the conquered parts and thus distributed over all of Italy groups of citizens with full rights in the Roman civil law. As Rome spread beyond Italy and the conquered parts were ruled by a prefect, or proconsul, or other official, respect was had for local law, but the governor naturally applied the principles of the civil law in his treatment of cases where conflict was inevitable.

The legal problems connected with the various classes of part-Roman citizens and foreigners became so important that in 246 B.C. a special praetor was appointed to take care of all cases involving them. He was called the *praetor peregrinus*, or "praetor for foreigners." In many of the cases which came before him the parties came under the jurisdiction of different bodies of law. If only one of the parties was a Roman citizen, the civil law applied to him, but not to the other litigant, while in other cases neither litigant could claim Roman citizenship and the whole case was quite outside the jurisdiction of the civil law. Under such circumstances the "praetor for foreigners" became in effect a student of comparative law and used his best judgment in an effort to arrive at a satisfactory procedure and law to cover the case. From the office and labors of the *praetor peregrinus* there resulted the *jus gentium*, or law of peoples, which was a modification of the theory and practice of law away from the hard rule of Roman precedent and in the direction of a rule of reason. The *jus gentium* came to be recognized as

superior to the old civil law, with the result that the civil law in time was profoundly modified by the newer system in which the application of reason had been more readily made.

Still another influence which profoundly affected the development of Roman law was the Stoic philosophy. If the "praetor for foreigners" had been compelled to seek a law of reason to reconcile the contradictions among the codes according to which he had to try cases, the professional jurists of the late Republic and of the Empire sought on principle a common philosophical basis for law which was to correspond to the Stoic conception of the law that ran through the whole universe of nature and mankind. For them the touchstone of legality came to be consistency with that reason which is universal among men of all nations and is of the essence of humanity itself.

The *positive equity* of the praetors, which had been derived from the observation of general customs, and had become actually incorporated in the existing body of law, was supplemented by the *natural equity* of the jurists, which was based upon the dictates of reason and regarded as a moral standard by which the character of the existing law must be judged, and to which it must as far as possible be made to conform.¹

The practical jurisprudence of the praetors was gradually combined with the scientific jurisprudence of the jurists, with the result that there existed under the Roman Empire a system of law which had advanced with the increasing complexity of business and official life and was adequate to meet the various

¹ Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*.

demands made upon it in all the lands where citizens of the Empire had been created, or into which they had gone from Rome or Italy. Local law obtained everywhere, of course, for those who were not Roman citizens, but under the Empire the gift of citizenship was so generously awarded that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Roman civil law, in its later and more philosophic form, came to be the arbiter of civil rights and legal relationships in the whole area comprised within the Roman Empire. The importance of this development from the standpoint of societal evolution can hardly be overestimated. It constitutes probably Rome's greatest single contribution to succeeding generations of Western society, for it gave a rule of equity and justice covering the rights and obligations of the citizen in all of his civil relationships.

The conduct of a trial at civil law. — It is desirable that we should speak at this point of the conduct of a civil law trial in Rome, for the direction which education took in Rome was definitely affected by the probable future function of advocate which the young patrician would be called on to perform.

When a civil dispute arose between two parties which called for a legal settlement, they appeared before the praetor, who conducted a preliminary examination of the plaintiff and the defendant in order to find out the exact legal point of the controversy. As a result of this examination, the praetor discovered and wrote out a brief statement of the principle or fact on which the decision should turn, which was technically known as the *formula*. The

formula was turned over to someone designated by the praetor to conduct the trial, namely the *judex*, whose business it was to hear witnesses, weigh evidence, listen to the pleas of the advocates on both sides, and, finally, to render his decision to the praetor.

Since the practice of the law was so important a part of public life in Rome, it is desirable to look further into the position and the equipment of those concerned in the administration of justice. The praetor was inevitably a rising young politician, who had filled some of the lower offices of state and for whom the praetorship was by way of further apprenticeship for higher office and ultimately for the consulship. The function of the *judex* was relatively mechanical and the position was not a stage in the ordinary progress of civil honors and position for a youth of the upper classes. The advocate, or orator, was presumably a member of one of the upper classes who found it a duty incumbent upon him to serve his clients in the courts, as well as a possible pathway to influence, which meant wealth. And yet none of the three functionaries so far named is what we would call a man of thorough legal knowledge. The praetor needed to know some law, the more the better, but he was primarily an administrator. The *judex* was a trial judge, perhaps like our city magistrate. The advocate was primarily a pleader. He also needed to know some law, in his case also the more the better, but he was a very busy man of affairs and pleasure and he could not be expected to know everything. His main objective was to make

the most of the evidence in favor of his client, to win for him any possible advantage of prejudice or testimony, and, in short, to get a decision in his favor. His art was primarily one of effective argument and persuasion. He was the orator.

In one of the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger,¹ occurs a good account of a Roman law trial. Pliny announces to his friend Romanus a recent speech made in an important case, on which he desires his friend's critical comment and, perhaps, his appreciation :

'Tis my plea on behalf of Accia Variola, noteworthy for the high rank of the persons concerned, the rarity of such a case in litigation, and the amplitude of the tribunal. For here was a high-born lady, wife to a man of Praetorian rank, suing for her patrimony in the Centumviral Court; having been disinherited by a father, aged eighty, within eleven days after the enamoured ancient had brought home a stepmother to his daughter. The Court was composed of one hundred and eighty jurors (for that is the number of which its four panels consist); a host of advocates appeared on both sides; the benches were infinitely thronged, and the spacious court was encompassed by a circle of people standing several rows deep. In addition, the tribunal was crowded and the very galleries lined with men and women, hanging over in their eagerness to hear (which was difficult) and to see (which was easy). Fathers, daughters, and stepmothers too, anxiously awaited the verdict. . . .

I have given you these details, firstly that you might learn from my letter what you could not from my speech; secondly (for I will lay bare the artifice) that you might read my speech more willingly by fancying yourself not a reader, but a spectator of the trial. Long it may be, but I do not despair of its gaining the same favor with you as the briefest possible oration. For

¹ Book VI. 33. "Loeb Classical Library," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

abundance of matter, skilful division of topics, a profusion of anecdote and variety of style combine to give it freshness. I will even venture to say to you (what I durst not to any one else) that a spirit of great fire and sublimity breaks out in many parts of it, at the same time that in others it is wrought up with much delicacy and closeness of reasoning. I was frequently obliged to intermix dry computations with those elevated and vigorous passages and to descend from the orator almost to the accountant; so that you will sometimes imagine the scene was changed from the solemnity of the centumviral tribunal to that of a private and inferior one. I gave a loose to indignation, resentment, and sorrow, and steering through the broad sea of this illustrious course, was governed by turns with every varying gust of the passions.

The man of real legal learning did not appear in a court trial at all. He was the *juris consultus*, the man "learned in the law" and in any particularly difficult case he was likely to be consulted by the praetor, the judex, or the advocates, or by all of them. He made the study of the law his life work and it was he who contributed to the reconstruction and the development of the civil law from a narrow system of patrician law to a universal rule of justice. During the reign of Augustus Caesar, certain jurists were given the *jus respondendi*, which clothed their opinions with an authority akin to that which attaches in our day to a supreme court decision. It was the labors of the jurists over a period of seven hundred years which culminated in the monumental selection and codification of the Roman civil law under the Emperor Justinian in Constantinople in the sixth Christian century.

The Roman Empire and its civil administration. — Already have been noted two of the outstanding

contributions of Rome to Western culture, namely, a matured and highly efficient system of civil law and judicial practice, and a rich and varied literature. Worthy of a place beside these in its influence upon our cultural development is the system of political organization and civil administration known as the Roman Empire. Technically speaking Rome was not an empire in the second half of the first Christian century, but the essentials of imperial government were present then and it suits our convenience to take that period for our discussion of Roman political usage, for it is during that same half century that Quintilian, master teacher of oratory, was doing his best work. It was a period at which the great creative influences of Latin literature had lost their original power, but it was not yet the time of pronounced intellectual weariness and of political and economic decay. Two hundred years of substantial exercise of supremacy yet remained to Rome, and an equal period of undiminished prestige for her culture and her institutions over the area which later became the home of a more recent Western civilization.

In the second half of the first Christian century Rome had reached, not the greatest extent of her empire, but a set of natural and most easily defensible boundaries. Roughly speaking these were the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea on the north, the Euphrates on the east, the Desert of Sahara on the south, and the Atlantic Ocean on the west. Within these limits dwelt a population of possibly one hundred million under the government of Rome.

Starting from the city on the Tiber there spread outward a network of hard military roads reaching to the farthest confines of this territory, and the Mediterranean Sea, frequently spoken of as a Roman lake, was traversed by a thousand merchant fleets even as in our day. Throughout that vast territory there existed a security of person which has never been equaled since the decay of the imperial rule. Merchants passed along those roads with their wares, travelers, on pleasure or education bent, set upon their way, and couriers bearing government dispatches hastened to their destination without inconvenience or fear of violence.

At the head of the government of this vast area was the *princeps*, or head of the state. The main source of his power lay in the fact that he was the commander-in-chief of the military forces, and one of his most important titles was "imperator," or military chieftain. As such he was in charge of the administration of the newer provinces as presumably requiring the presence of military forces. By a constitutional fiction the princeps was given the title and functions of the "tribunes of the people," who under the Republic had possessed the veto power over the acts of the Senate, could call the Senate together and present matters for their consideration. The combination in the princeps of military power and legislative control made him easily master of the Senate, which was continued, however, as an agency of administration. The Senate was the source of legislation and, notwithstanding its position of tutelage, it was the body which

declared public policy. The older provinces of Rome were under the administration of the Senate, which appointed their governors under the title of proconsul.

As has been indicated above, the entire area under the domination of Rome was divided into provinces. Each province had its written constitution, which interfered as little as possible with native customs and civil administration, and the governor of the province was bound to respect that fundamental law. The provinces were further subdivided into smaller units, each possessing its own local government, locally chosen, and enjoying a large measure of independence in local matters. Only in case of failure to live up to the general administrative agreement was the strong hand of the governor likely to interfere in community affairs. Each community was a unit for the collection of taxes, which passed into the treasury of the governor of the provinces, and ultimately, in considerable part, to the imperial treasuries at Rome. Scattered throughout the empire were communities of ex-soldiers, citizens of Rome, which enjoyed the privileges of the mother city. It was not an uncommon thing for entire communities to be honored with the citizenship, and indeed, the distinction between the provinces continued to become less and less important, beginning with the reign of Claudius (41 A.D.). However, in the second half of the first Christian century only a small part of the entire population outside of Italy possessed the rights of the Roman citizen. Such as were not Roman citizens were not governed by the

Roman civil law, but depended for justice upon local codes and judicial procedure.

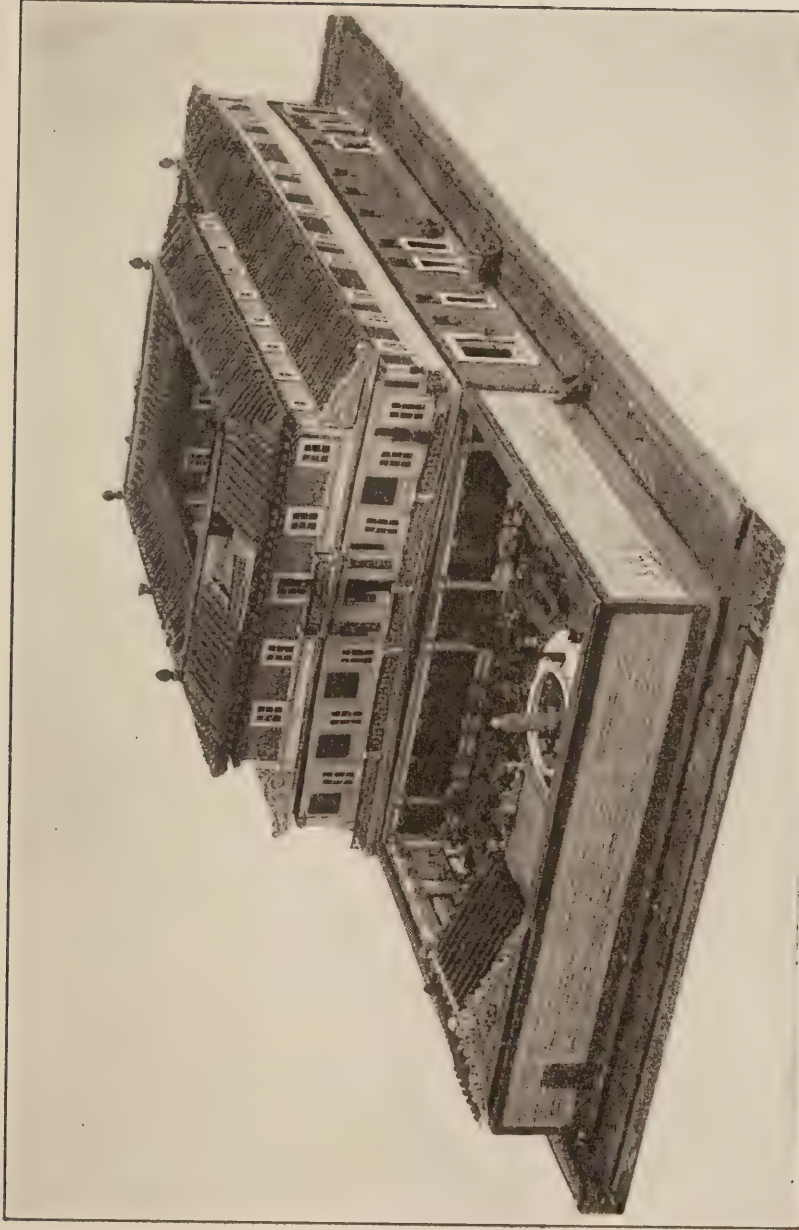
Social classes in Rome. — The citizens of Rome were divided into three classes: the senatorial class, the knights, and the rest of the people.

The members of the senatorial class were such by right of birth or became so by appointment of the princeps. This class constituted the ruling caste, for out of it came practically all officers of state and military leaders. Its members were not allowed to engage in commercial enterprises. A youth of this class who intended to follow a public career would enter the army for a period of preliminary training, from which he would emerge to be the head of a regiment of a legion. The period of active service would be short, for he would return to Rome to stand for election to the questorship, in which office he would become familiar with the financial administration either in Rome or as the assistant of the proconsul of a province. From this office he passed on to serve as a member of the Senate. The intention of this necessary succession of offices was to give the prospective higher official a comprehensive apprenticeship in the military and administrative functions with which the man holding high office must be familiar. In reality this was *the* Roman process of education for the men who were to carry on the traditions and power of the empire. If he were ambitious to reach the higher offices where the greatest rewards of wealth and honor were to be found, the young senator would hold various offices of local administration, after which he would be ready for

the command of a military brigade. He would then probably pass to the governorship of a province and ultimately to the sum of political honors, the consulship.

The second class of Roman citizens were known as the knights, or the equestrian order. Here, too, there was a definite list of members, which was for the most part made up of sons of the same class, but which could also be added to by the princeps. As with the senators, the knights were men of wealth — indeed, in each of these orders a minimum of property was prescribed. The knights were not restricted as to their occupation and were for the most part engaged in some form of financial or commercial enterprise. The emperors, increasingly with Augustus Caesar, used the members of this class as their administrative or financial agents on a level which was beneath the dignity of the senators, but withal extremely lucrative. The practice of law was open to the members of this class and there was continuous movement out of it into the more exclusive class of senators. Accordingly, the interest of both classes in literary education was likely to be much the same.

Outside of these two classes is to be considered the great mass of Roman citizens. Among this group would be persons of every conceivable occupation or of no occupation at all; of all grades of wealth or poverty, and of any race or religion to be found on the earth. The ancient political powers of the citizens had disappeared in the reorganization of government under Augustus Caesar, but they were



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 15.—The House of Pansa, as restored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. This house, which is the reproduction of one of the finer homes in Pompeii, gives one some notion of the comfort which the wealthy Roman enjoyed in his domestic arrangements.

entitled to the protection of the civil law, and in Rome, to the number of 200,000 at one time,¹ were on the list of those entitled to public doles of grain.

We shall pass on almost immediately to further consideration of the education of the Roman youths who were destined to take over from their elders as a matter of course, the rule of the empire; but let us note that the empire itself was one of the great educational legacies which descended from Rome to later times. Through the Middle Ages — that is, down to the time of the Protestant Reformation — the ideal of one great state governing all of western Europe was an important political force. The imperial form of civil organization also gave a pattern for the development of the national governments which ambitious kings later consolidated out of feudal anarchy. No less did it form the model according to which developed the Roman Catholic Church, at once religious hierarchy and superstate. And truly it was a concept to stir the imagination — that of a great state covering almost a world, including citizens of many races and of widely diverse cultures and grades of civilization, holding all under one system of uniform justice, of universal service, and of unbroken peace.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. ROBINSON, J. H., and BREASTED, J. H., *Outlines of European History*, Ginn and Co., 1914, or BOTSFORD, G., *History of the Ancient World*, Macmillan Company, 1911. — These accounts will serve to recall to the student the

¹ See Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*.

main points of the social and political development of Rome.

2. TUCKER, T. G., *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, Macmillan, 1917. — Gives an admirably concrete picture of Roman life in the first Christian century.

3. MACKAIL, J. W., *Latin Literature*, Scribner's, 1912. — A standard textbook on the subject.

4. MOREY, W. C., *Outlines of Roman Law*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894. — Describes the development of the Roman system of law and jurisprudence from primitive times to the codifications of Justinian in the sixth century A.D.

5. PETERSSON, T., *Cicero, a Biography*, University of California Press, 1920. — Shows the important part played by Cicero in the Latinizing of Greek thought.

6. LODGE, G., *Greek Influence on Latin Literature*, in *Greek Literature*, Columbia University Press, 1912. — Exhibits the transfer of the Greek literary legacy to Rome.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE AND EDUCATION IN ROME IN THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CENTURY

The life of a Roman senator.¹ — If we shift our attention from the civilization and institutions of Rome to the life of an individual Roman, we shall see that a member of the official class reflected in his activities much of all that we have chosen to consider as the genius of the Roman people. Certainly a part of his life would be devoted to the military pursuits upon which the empire was founded and on which it rested, but by the first Christian century military life had become considerable of a specialty. Let us consider that the particular Roman whom we are to have in mind chose to find a career of honor and profit along administrative rather than military lines.

It has been indicated above that the chief social function ascribed to the senatorial class was the government of the Empire. Every Roman of that class was likely to be more or less involved in official life, and if he were a man of energy and ambition he would be content with nothing less than a complete

¹ In connection with this topic the student should read Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, and extensively in the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger.

ascent through the *cursus honorum* (schedule of honors). At the age of twenty-seven he was eligible for the quaestorship, at thirty-five for the praetorship, and might expect to arrive in middle age at the consulship. His mature years would probably be honored with the governorship of a province and in his declining years, as a mark of special favor, he could aspire to such an honorable and lucrative sinecure as membership in the College of Augurs. Throughout the entire period following the quaestorship, when not engaged in distant service, he was a member of the Senate, and as such during "term time" in the thick of public affairs.

Closely related to the career of office, was his practice of the law. Indeed, the practice of law was almost inseparable from the political career owing to the judicial functions which were exercised by the Senate with respect to public officials. As in the case of the United States Senate, which from time to time is called upon to conduct a species of judicial investigation, so the Roman Senate was continually being called upon to hear the accusation of a civil official on the part of some outraged public in a Roman province. The Rules of Order of the Roman Senate were much like the rules of procedure of a court of law and the individual senator was frequently called upon to serve as counsel in a case which was brought before the Senate in the ordinary course of business. The administration of the Empire as a whole and of each province in particular closely followed the forms of judicial precedent and the success of a career of civil office depended largely

upon the official's possessing the lawyer's attitude and training.

Outside of the demands upon legal skill and education which the senator encountered in the ordinary course of his official life, there were large opportunities for honor and profit in the rôle of advocate in the civil trials which were brought before the magistrates. Here was one of the conspicuous ways of being a man of importance in the community. It gave opportunity for the exercise of skill in the art of public speech, and that particular skill in the second half of the first Christian century was in a sense one of the "national games." To be an eloquent speaker was a certain source of general esteem and no pursuit gave larger possibilities of exercise of eloquence than did pleading in the courts.

The senator was, of course, a man of property, else he could not have received in the first place his senatorial honors, nor have maintained them once gained. Theoretically, however, his only available investment as a senator was in real estate, and his main business was in managing his farm properties. Whether, through factors, he took an active part in business of a kind from which he personally was barred, is another question. For us, at least, that question may rest.

One may well imagine that a member of the official class, if he were so minded, could find much to engage his time and attention. It would seem, however, that times were more leisurely then than now, for even busy men of affairs found large opportunities for leisure and recreation. In this matter of recrea-

tion there was among the Romans a great diversity of interest and practice. If we were to take the Younger Pliny as the type of Roman grandee, we should imagine that the means of recreation of that class were almost exclusively literary, but probably the great majority of the men who could claim equal rank with Pliny thought him a "highbrow" and a good bit of a bore. In one of his letters ¹ Pliny writes to a friend who had complained to him about the unintellectual entertainment which had been offered at a banquet which that friend had but lately attended, and cautions him against unfairness.

Indeed [he says], what numbers are there, think you, who distaste the entertainments which you and I are most delighted with and consider them either trivial or wearisome! How many are there, who as soon as a reader, a musician, or a comedian is introduced, either take their leave of the company, or if they continue at the table, show as much dislike to this kind of diversion, as you did at those *monsters* as you called them!

Doubtless the leisure pursuits of many, perhaps the majority, of the upper-class Romans ran rather in the direction of crude physical excitement than in the direction of literary appreciation and personal literary efforts, but on the other hand there must have been a considerable minority who found literary studies and composition their main source of recreation.

Pliny's letters indicate how completely his life was filled, in the intervals of official business, with literary activities, and even how his passion for

¹ *Letters* of Pliny the Younger, IX. 17. "Loeb Classical Library," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

literary excellence was carried over to his oratorical labors in the Senate and the courts. His letters to his friends are a matter of pride to himself, and he is apparently never without the thought that he is writing what may be matter of literary appreciation. Indeed he personally supervised the publication of his own correspondence. Pliny was a versifier, as apparently many of his friends were, and filled the tedium of long journeys or periods of fatigue with compositions in a wide variety of verse forms. He industriously polished up his speeches for publication after they had been delivered and he was continually sending specimens of his work to some friend for criticism, or serving in the capacity of critic upon his friend's work in turn. Doubtless his friends were chosen on the basis of common literary interests, for the correspondence is replete with references to men of dignity and high official position who apparently spent their leisure time in reading or literary composition. For Pliny and his circle the literary education which they had received in the schools in their youth must be regarded as an important and essential preparation for a type of experience and activity which bulked large in their later life. It cannot be doubted that they considered their claim to excellence and personal immortality to depend, in large part, upon their intellectual and literary accomplishments.

A word is in place concerning the dignity and luxury of the life lived by the members of the senatorial class. If they were not wealthy, *ipso facto* they were not senators. For convenience, the

senator active in official life had his town house. As matter of recreation and as means of investment, each had his country villa or many of them. Pliny in his letters throws much light on the scale of convenience and luxury of these villas. His Laurentinum,¹ which he describes as a modest little place, lay on the seacoast seventeen miles from Rome, which in those days was just convenient commuting distance, "so that, having finished your affairs in town, you can spend the night here after completing a full working day." His description of the many rooms, courts, and galleries of the house, its baths and tennis courts, its sun rooms, its system of artificial heating, its spacious walks and gardens, gives us a picture of comfort and beauty. And this is only one of several such retreats which Pliny possessed. In Tuscany at the foot of the Apennines lay another of his villas,² preferred for the summer vacations, which he describes in loving detail and which is certainly more pretentious than the Laurentine.

The letters of Pliny are full of the incidents of an active life of public service, from which relief is sought in the amenities of literature, but nowhere from his pen do we have a better statement of the ideal distribution of a man's energies among his years than in the following letter to Pomponius Bassus.³

I have heard with great pleasure from our common friends, that you support and dispose of your leisure in retirement, as becomes a man of your distinguished wisdom; that you inhabit a most

¹ See *Letters*, II. 17.

² See *Letters*, V. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 23. "Loeb Classical Library," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

delightful spot, take exercise by land and sea, and mix learned conferences with much reading; and are daily increasing that immense fund of knowledge you already possess. To grow old in this way behooves one who has discharged the highest civil offices, commanded an army, and who gave himself wholly up to the service of the Commonwealth as long as it became him to do so. Our youth and manhood we owe to our country, but our declining age is due to ourselves; as the laws themselves seem to suggest which consign us to retirement when we are arrived beyond our sixtieth year.

The knights and the populace. — We have already briefly characterized the knightly class and the rest of the people (see above), but a few words seem to be in order at this point for a description of their activities as related to their possible demands for education. While the classification of Roman society was made largely on a basis of wealth, it is not true that everyone who possessed a given amount of property or had a certain income automatically received a social rating on financial grounds. There were freedmen who were immensely wealthy. There were common citizens of great wealth who never became knights; and there were many knights who preferred their position of financial opportunity to senatorial rank. While wealth is an aristocratic basis for social classification, there is no system which it is easier to break through than just this. A poor man is a nobody; he becomes rich and he is recognized as somebody. If he so desires he may be favored by the Emperor and made a knight, and his sons may pass through the *cursus honorum* of the senatorial class if the original favor can be secured that puts them in line of promotion.

The fact of the matter was that in Roman society, as in modern society, the sons of the poor and socially insignificant probably maintained that status and in turn passed it on to their sons. The exceptional man rose out of this classification and acquired influence and position. Between the knights and the senatorial class there was only a shadowy line of demarcation. The latter regarded the former as eligible to their friendship and on a basis of substantial equality with them. In scale of living there was no difference, for many of the knights were as rich as, or richer than, any of the senators. Important financial posts and special service of the Emperor were open to the knights. They were privileged to practice law, both as advocates and as jurisconsults. The knights enjoyed the same recreations, athletic, sensual, or literary, as the senators, according as their tastes invited them.

The unity of Roman education. — Accordingly, in treating of Roman education we may consider it as a unity, which could be participated in by any individual to the extent to which he was able to pay for it and to the extent to which he could find interest and discern future advantage in it. Sons of the upper-class families, and daughters, too, received a literary education as a matter of course, as essential to the life which they would enter as they came to maturity. A son of a poor man might secure the same education and use it as the stepping stone to a career if by some happy combination of circumstances the way was opened to him. Ordinarily, however, the poor were content with a modicum of

schooling for their children, and if they chose to neglect the matter entirely, certainly the state was not concerned about it. Such education as any child received was paid for by his parents or by a patron, and schools of all grades arose corresponding to the ability of parents to pay.

Grades of Roman schools. — Having previously observed the grades of education that developed in the Greek world after the Alexandrian conquest (see page 80 and ff.), one is prepared to find, as an aspect of the process of Hellenization which Rome underwent, the same classification of schools in the Latin portion of what is really one Graeco-Roman world. Indeed, the schools of the grammarist, of the grammarian, and of the rhetor, were transferred without change from Greek to Roman soil and Greek teachers set up to instruct Roman youth in Greek subject matter and in the Greek language certainly as early as the second century B.C. As a later development the Greek subject matter set forth in the Latin tongue came to be offered in all the grades of instruction mentioned above. By the middle of the first Christian century there existed in Rome parallel systems of schools in the Latin and in the Greek language which extended from elementary, through secondary, to higher instruction.

Elementary education. — Even before the Greek influence was felt at Rome, there had existed there an elementary form of literary education under the name of the *ludus*. In this school the boys and girls were taught to read and write in their native language and to perform the elementary operations of

arithmetic. Owing to the absence of any great traditional literature, such as the Greeks possessed before the alphabet came into use, the principal subject matter of study in this school seems to have been the Laws of the Twelve Tables. As translations from the Greek were made and original Latin literature was produced, the range of material for reading and writing extended; but this elementary school of the *litterator* did not apparently aim at giving the pupil much more than the ability to read and write and do simple sums and easy problems in mensuration. For computations in arithmetic recourse was had to the abacus, or counting frame.

In a civilization so far advanced as that of Rome, in which so great dependence was placed upon written record and in which written communication played so large a part, one may consider that a large part of the population found it profitable and otherwise desirable to know how to read and write and voluntarily sought to secure for their children that elementary degree of learning.

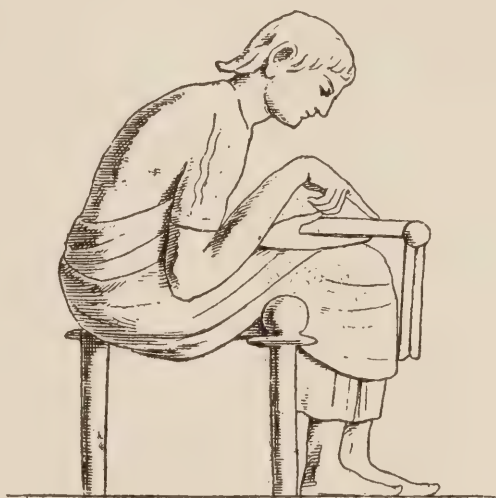


Fig. 16. — Youth reading, from an Etruscan relief. It is possible that the use of wax tablets for making records was passed on to the Romans from the older Etruscan civilization which had its seat in northern Italy. (Taken from Schreiber.)

For the most part, the children of the poorer classes, if they were sent to school at all, were given only a limited schooling, possibly limited to what they could secure in the school of the *litterator*. For the children of the upper classes, this elementary stage of learning was necessary also, even as in the continental system of education to-day, where primary and secondary schools are separate kinds of education, an elementary or preparatory grade of instruction is preliminary to entrance upon the work of the secondary school proper. Such upper-class children at Rome were sometimes given this elementary instruction at home by a private tutor, but it seems that very generally they received it in a school, probably a more exclusive type of school taught by a *litterator* or grammatist. Quintilian, the greatest Roman authority on education, preferred the school, even for this early stage of instruction.¹

Bilingualism in Roman education. — In our effort to understand the nature of Roman education, we must not lose sight of the fact that every educated Roman in the first Christian century spoke and wrote and read in Greek with practically the same facility that he possessed in his native tongue. The Greek intellectual world, which has already been discussed in Chapter V under the caption, "The Internationalizing of Hellenic Culture," had extended to include Rome. Greek philosophers and Greek teachers were as much at home in the Imperial City as they were in Athens, Alexandria, and Rhodes. It was customary for every Roman who pretended to a liberal

¹ See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I. ii.

education to spend some time in travel and study in the Greek intellectual centers. With the exception of the official administrative and judicial business of the Empire, the cultivated language of all that part of the world which had formerly come under the sway of Alexander and his successors was Greek, and, in spite of the development of Latin literature, by far the richest treasury of ideas and the finest examples of literary forms were to be had in Greek writers. Quintilian, writing for Romans in the last years of the first Christian century, quotes from Greek authors without thinking of offering a translation. In his treatise on education he takes it for granted that the budding orator should learn both Latin and Greek equally well and even insists that the Greek language should be the first object of study for the Roman youth.

The place of oratory in Roman life. — The education of the sons of those who were on the roll of the knightly or of the senatorial class may be considered as a unit. To be sure, the knights were assigned a lower type of official and military duties than the senators, but the line of demarcation between the two classes was a financial one, plus an element of personal choice, and could easily enough be passed over by the man of energy and ambition. Both classes were eligible to plead in the law courts or to follow the career of jurisconsult. As for the pursuits of private life, it would be difficult to establish any distinction between the knight and the senator. Of the men who have entered into this narrative, Cicero might be named as one whose father was a knight,

while the fathers of Virgil and Horace were of the common people and the father of Quintilian was a teacher of rhetoric in Spain. Pliny the Younger was a member of the senatorial class and early chose for himself a public career.

If it is true that a man of lower class than the senatorial might rise to a career of public honor, it is no less true that a man born to the broad purple stripe of senatorial privilege might elect to spend his time in private ease and personal indulgence. Into such a life the elements of a literary and philosophical education might enter little or largely according to the character and tastes of the individual concerned.

Such education as was definitely organized in Rome looked to the preparation of the youth for a career in law and in civil or military administration and followed, naturally enough, such lines as would lead to skill in public speech. If a man sought a career as advocate, the ability to speak well was essential to success. If he intended following a career of public office, the occasions upon which he would be called upon to speak would be innumerable. If he planned to become a military leader, as was to a degree inseparable from a public career, it would be a matter of importance that he should possess the ability to encourage his troops or to win them to his plans. Moreover, in the society in which he would move there was apparently no end to the occasions, such as birthdays and memorial services, on which a speech would be called for and would serve as a fruitful source of personal reputation if graciously and effectively made.

The school of the grammarian.—Having observed the important place which public speaking held in the practical and cultural life of Rome, we may turn to closer consideration of the ways and means of producing the orator. It is further to be remembered that the system of education proposed by Quintilian, whom we shall take as representing the best of Roman educational theory and practice, was revived in the fourteenth century and became the ideal pattern of the liberal education in Europe. Quintilian says,¹ "As soon as the boy has learned to read and to write without difficulty, it is the turn for the teacher of literature (*grammaticus*)."

The instruction of the grammarian was to aim at

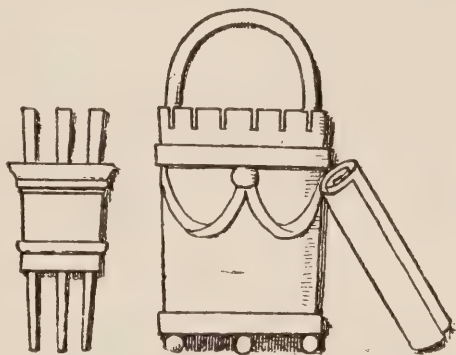


Fig. 17. — Three stili, a capsula, and a roll. The stilus was used by the Romans for writing on wax tablets. The capsula was a round box made of light wood and used for carrying rolls of parchment and papyrus. The rolls were customarily wound up on a stick, to the end of which was attached a label for identification of the contents. The roll in the illustration is not wound on a stick. (Taken from Schreiber.)

the art of speaking correctly and at the interpretation of the poets, but the art of speaking involved also correct writing, and interpretation depended upon correct reading and criticism of authors. The range of reading was to include not only the poets, but every kind of writer, for subject matter and vocabulary.

¹ *Ibid.*, I. iv. 4-5. Translation, "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Nor can such training be regarded as complete if it stop short of music, for the teacher of literature has to speak of meter and rhythm: nor again if he be ignorant of astronomy, can he understand the poets; for they, to mention no further points, frequently give their indications of time by reference to the rising and setting of the stars. Ignorance of philosophy is an equal drawback, since there are numerous passages in almost every poem based on the most intricate questions of natural philosophy, while among the Greeks we have Empedocles and among our own poets Varro and Lucretius, all of whom have expounded their philosophies in verse. No small powers of eloquence also are required to enable the teacher to speak appropriately and fluently on the various points which have just been mentioned. For this reason, those who criticize the art of teaching literature as trivial and lacking in substance put themselves out of court. Unless the foundations of oratory are well and truly laid by the teaching of literature, the superstructure will collapse. The study of literature is a necessity for boys and the delight of old age, the sweet companion of our privacy and the sole branch of study which has more solid substance than display.¹

In his discussion of the work of the grammarian, Quintilian finds it necessary to go into considerable detail with respect to such matters as word usage and orthography, generally with the purpose of opposing the extremes either of conservatism or of innovation. In order to show the proper emphasis which he thought should be placed on such matters, he offers the following:

I am however haunted by the thought that some readers will regard what I have said as trivial details which are only likely to prove a hindrance to those who are intent upon a greater task; and I myself do not think that we should go so far as to lose our

¹ Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I. iv. 4-5. "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

sleep of nights or quibble like fools over such minutiae; for such studies make mincemeat of the mind. . . . Such studies do no harm to those who but pass through them: it is only the pedantic stickler who suffers.¹

In his discussion of reading, Quintilian says,

There is much that can only be taught in actual practice, as for instance when the boy should take breath, at what point he should introduce a pause into a line, where the sense ends or begins, when the voice should be raised or lowered, what modulation should be given to each phrase, and when he should increase or slacken speed, or speak with greater or less energy. In this portion of my work I will give but one golden rule: to do all these things he must understand what he reads.

Quintilian proposed ² that the boy should begin by reading Homer and Virgil, so that his mind might be “lifted by the sublimity of heroic verse, inspired by the greatness of its theme and imbued with the loftiest sentiments.” The reading of tragedy he thought to be useful and considered that the lyric poets would furnish nourishment for the mind provided that a careful selection of authors and even of passages from authors be made. Comedy had its contribution to make in the training of an orator because it dealt with a wide variety of persons and emotions.

Subjects selected for lectures to boys should be those which will enlarge the mind and provide the greatest nourishment to the intellect. . . . [But] in lecturing the teacher of literature must give attention to minor points as well: he will ask his class

¹ *Ibid.*, I. vii. 33-35. “Loeb Classical Library,” G. P. Putnam’s Sons, New York.

² See *ibid.*, I. viii.

after analyzing a verse to give him the parts of speech and the peculiar features of the feet which it contains. . . . He will point out what words are barbarous, what improperly used, and what are contrary to the laws of language.

He will familiarize the pupils with artifices of style and stimulate their memory. He will point out different meanings that may be given to each word and exercise them in the recognition of different figures of speech.

Above all he will impress upon their minds the value of proper arrangement and of graceful treatment of the matter in hand: he will show what is appropriate to the various characters, what is praiseworthy in the thoughts or words, where copious diction is to be commended and where restraint. . . . In addition to this he will explain the various stories that occur: this must be done with care, but should not be encumbered with superfluous detail.

The boys should be given exercises in composition which ordinarily were to be paraphrases of well-known materials or short original themes on moral topics.

Up to this point in his description of the work of the grammarian Quintilian seems to have thought himself on rather undebatable ground. However, when he proposes that other subjects besides literature should be included if the Greek ideal of a "general education" is to be achieved, he very evidently knows that he is passing beyond the ordinary and accepted course of secondary education. Knowing that he is running counter to the Roman tendency to be severely practical he raises the issue for discussion.

What, say some, has the knowledge of the way to describe an equilateral triangle on a given straight line got to do with pleading in the law-courts or speaking in the senate? Will an acquaintance with the names and intervals of the notes of the lyre help an orator to defend a criminal or direct the policy of his country?

His argument in favor of a knowledge of music as a part of the education of the orator is based partly on traditional grounds, but more largely on the contribution that it can make to the achievement of the highest reach of the orator's art and skill.

As regards geometry [mathematics is meant], it is granted that portions of this science are of value for the instruction of children: for admittedly it exercises their minds, sharpens their wits and generates quickness of perception.

But, besides the formal values of the study of mathematics, Quintilian finds practical importance in the study from its utility for the speaker who is dealing with a financial question or in lawsuits over the boundaries of real property.

But geometry soars still higher to the consideration of the system of the universe: for by its calculations it demonstrates the fixed and ordained courses of the stars, and thereby we acquire the knowledge that all things are ruled by order and destiny, a consideration which may at times be of value to an orator. When Pericles dispelled the panic caused at Athens by the eclipse of the sun by explaining the causes of the phenomenon, or Sulpicius Gallus discoursed on the eclipse of the moon to the army of Lucius Paulus to prevent the soldiers being seized with terror at what they regarded as a portent sent by heaven, did not they discharge the function of an orator? ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, I. x. 46-47. "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Even the comic actor can be profitably employed at this stage of the boy's education for correcting faults of pronunciation, for developing correct voice production, for avoiding faults of gesture and facial expression, and for adapting delivery to various forms of address. Quintilian condemned the professional gymnast, but saw utility in the training which would eliminate awkwardness of action and posture.

In summing up the case for the broad-based, liberal conception of education, Quintilian casts his defense in terms that were never more applicable than they are at present in the midst of our industrialized society.

The plea of the difficulty of the subject [he says] is put forward merely to cloak our indolence, because we do not love the work that lies before us nor seek to win eloquence for our own because it is a noble art and the fairest thing in all the world, but gird up our loins for mercenary ends and for the winning of filthy lucre. Without such accomplishments many may speak in the courts and make an income; but it is my prayer that every dealer in the vilest merchandise may be richer than they and that the public crier may find his voice a more lucrative possession. And I trust that there is not one even among my readers who would think of calculating the monetary values of such studies. But he that has enough of the divine spark to conceive the ideal eloquence, he who, as the great tragic poet says, regards "oratory" as the "queen of all the world" and seeks not the transitory gains of advocacy, but those stable and lasting rewards which his own soul and knowledge and contemplation can give, *he* will easily persuade himself to spend his time not, like so many, in the theater or in the Campus Martius, in dicing or in idle talk, to say naught of the hours that are wasted in sleep or long drawn banqueting, but in listening rather to the geometrician and the

teacher of music. For by this he will win a richer harvest of delight than can ever be gathered from the pleasures of the ignorant, since among the many gifts of providence to man not the least is this, that the highest pleasure is the child of virtue.¹

Professional education. — At the conclusion of his attendance upon the instruction of the grammarian, the general education of the Roman youth may be regarded as having been completed. This is not to say that there were not liberalizing and broadening elements in the instruction which he might later receive from the rhetor, or teacher of oratory, but rather that in this higher grade of instruction, subject matter and method had definite reference to the preparation of the advocate.

It would be a great mistake, however, to think of this later period of education exclusively in terms of schools and academic exercises. As has been previously pointed out, the youthful member of the senatorial class who aspired to a public career was compelled to engage for a period in active military life in the field, and this was followed by a period of service in a minor administrative capacity as the personal assistant of a more important official. In an important sense the *cursus honorum*, or schedule of official positions which the youth passed through in order, represented a continuing apprenticeship in administration which prepared for successively larger responsibilities and honors. In his training for the rôle of advocate, it was customary for the ambitious youth to seek out a jurist and under him to make a

¹ *Ibid.*, I. xii. 16-18. "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

special study of the Roman law, for, as we have seen in an earlier connection, knowledge of the law was a specialty just as was preparation for skillful pleading. It may even be said that there was a form of apprenticeship in connection with the rôle of advocate. The young advocate began with simple cases and developed his skill through practice, or an opportunity would be found for him to deliver a set speech in the forum on some public occasion or at the funeral services of a friend or member of his family. Accordingly we must think of the instruction given by the teacher of oratory as supplementary to these other agencies of education, which were really forms of apprenticeship on the higher levels in military science, administrative skill and judgment, civil law, and court practice.

The school of the rhetor. — The phase of the Roman youth's professional education which was best organized according to school standards was the school of the *rhetor*, in which he was instructed in the art of public speaking. If anyone doubts the existence of a technique in this field which could worthily be the object of study, let him pick up the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian¹ and spend some quiet hours with it.

This work of Quintilian has already been freely quoted from in the preceding pages, and it may be in point to say a word about the author. He was

¹ The student is referred to the excellent translation of this work by Professor H. E. Butler, of the University of London, to be found in four convenient volumes of the "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

born in Spain about 35 A.D. and received his education in Rome. He returned to Spain to engage in the teaching of rhetoric. At this period of his life he made the acquaintance of Galba, governor of one of the Roman provinces of Spain, and when Galba was elected Emperor, Quintilian returned with him to Rome in 68 A.D. Quintilian became the most famous teacher of oratory of his time and did much to institutionalize the work of the *rhetor*. He was the first teacher of oratory to receive a stated salary from the government. During his active years he combined court pleading and teaching with such distinction that he became wealthy and was given consular rank. It was only after his retirement that he undertook the literary labors which have made him so influential in the later history of Western education. His chief work was the *Institutio Oratoria*, which has come down to us complete.

In the Preface to his great work, Quintilian declares his aim to be

the education of the perfect orator. The first essential for such a one is that he should be a good man, and consequently we demand of him not merely the possession of exceptional gifts of speech, but of all the excellences of character as well. For I will not admit that the principles of upright and honorable living should, as some have held, be regarded as the peculiar concern of philosophy. The man who can really play his part as a citizen and is capable of meeting the demands both of public and private business, the man who can guide a state by his counsels, give it a firm basis by his legislation and purge its vices by his decisions as a judge, is assuredly no other than the orator of our quest. . . . Let our ideal orator then be such as to have a genuine title to the name of philosopher: . . . he must also be a thorough master

of the science and art of speaking, to an extent that perhaps no orator has yet attained.¹

It is easily seen that Quintilian had in mind a dual objective in the education of the orator. He proposed to furnish the prospective public speaker with the technique that was directly related to skill in oratory. In addition he proposed that the complete education of the orator should include all the elements of liberal culture that might add to the perfection of his art, the scope of his information, the maturity of his judgment, and the elevation of his moral purpose.

The practice of oratory in our contemporary civilization bears so little relation to its importance in Roman life that to expend much effort on the technicalities of rhetoric would be for us relatively unprofitable. It seems worth while, however, to point out that Quintilian's treatise represents a handy compendium, in the Latin tongue, of an intellectual pursuit which was fostered throughout the entire Graeco-Roman world. The authorities whom he quotes and the teachers of rhetoric whom he names to differ with them on particular points are for the most part Greeks. The Latin rhetoric was a treatment in that tongue of the subject matter which had been worked up by Greek, and only added to in lesser degree by Latin, teachers.

The third book of the *Institutio* is directed to the teachers of rhetoric and deals with definitions and technicalities of that art. With the fourth book

¹ Book I. Preface. "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

begins the real contribution of the author to the professional training of the advocate and this continues without let-down up to the end of the ninth book. Books IV to IX inclusive are packed full of concrete suggestions for the public speaker and for the most part deal with speeches as made before the courts. What can be more technical and practical from the standpoint of instruction in court practice than the following discussion of the examination of witnesses?

Since there are two classes of witnesses, those who testify of their own free will and those who are summoned to attend in the public courts, of whom the former are available to either party, the latter solely to the accusers, we must distinguish between the duties of the advocate who produces witnesses and the advocate who refutes them.

He who produces a voluntary witness is in a position to know what he is likely to say: consequently the task of examining them would seem to be rendered easier. But even here such cases make a great demand on the acumen and watchfulness of the advocate, who must see that his witness is neither timid, inconsistent, nor imprudent. For the opposing counsel have a way of making a witness lose his head or of leading him into some trap; and once a witness trips, he does more harm to his own side than he would have done good, had he retained his composure and presence of mind. The advocate must therefore put his witnesses through their paces thoroughly in private before they appear in court and must test them by a variety of questions such as may well be put to them by his opponent. The result will be that they will not contradict themselves or, if they do make some slip, can be set upon their feet again by a timely question from the advocate who produces them.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, V. vii. 9-11. "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Or again on the matter of holding the attention of the judge :

We must never forget that the attention of the judge is not always so keen that he will dispel obscurities without assistance, and bring the light of his intelligence to bear on the dark places of our speech. On the contrary, he will have many other thoughts to distract him unless what we say is so clear that our words will thrust themselves into his mind even when he is not giving us his attention, just as the sunlight forces itself upon the eyes. Therefore our aim must be not to put him in a position to understand our argument, but to force him to understand it. Consequently we shall frequently repeat anything which we think the judge has failed to take in as he should. We shall say, for example, "I fear that this portion of our case has been somewhat obscurely stated: the fault is mine, and I will therefore restate it in plainer and simpler language"; for the pretended admission of a fault on our part creates an excellent impression.¹

The liberal education of the orator. — Already we have discovered Quintilian's estimate of what should constitute the foundations of a liberal education in the discussion of the work of the grammarian. Again in the last three books of the *Institutio*, Quintilian returns to consideration of what the perfect orator needs for attaining the highest reaches of his art. In the tenth book, he gives a rapid outline of the reading which would be valuable for the orator, which is, in effect, one of the best brief critical sketches of Greek and Latin literature extant. Quintilian proposes that the author needs to be familiar with practically all the poets, historians, orators, and philosophers who are known to-day

¹ *Ibid.*, VIII. ii. 23-24. "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

as representing the best of classical culture. He proposes further careful and thoughtful study of these authors, exercises in imitation of their style, frequent composition dealing with their content, and, finally, assiduous practice in extemporaneous speaking. In the eleventh book he deals with the cultivation of the memory as a necessary part of the orator's equipment, and also with voice production and management and with gesture. In the twelfth book he returns to a favorite generalization, namely, that the good orator must be a good man, and he prescribes for the reaching of this end rigorous and unceasing discipline and the study of philosophy. In this connection we see the relation in which philosophy stood to life according to the best Roman conception. The Romans did not have a high regard for professional philosophers, because the professional philosopher did not always embody his thought in a good life: he even at times lived quite at variance with his professions. The Roman, however, first saw his life as expressed concretely in certain social relationships, and, if interested in philosophy at all, was interested in it as an aid to the good life. Nowhere is this attitude better expressed than in the following from the *Institutio*:

Since then the orator is a good man, and such goodness cannot be conceived as existing apart from virtue, virtue, despite the fact that it is in part derived from certain natural impulses, will require to be perfected by instruction. The orator must above all things devote his attention to the formation of moral character and must acquire a complete knowledge of all that is just and honorable. For without this knowledge no one can be either a

good man or skilled in speaking, unless indeed we agree with those who regard morality as intuitive and as owing nothing to instruction: indeed they go so far as to acknowledge that handicrafts, not excluding even those which are most despised among them, can only be acquired by the result of teaching, whereas virtue, which of all gifts to man is that which makes him most near akin to the immortal gods, comes to him without search or effort, as a natural concomitant of birth. But can the man who does not know what abstinence is, claim to be truly abstinent? or brave, if he has never purged his soul of the fears of pain, death, and superstition? or just, if he has never, in language approaching that of philosophy, discussed the nature of virtue and justice, or of the laws that have been given to mankind by nature or established among individual peoples and nations? What a contempt it argues for such themes to regard them as being so easy of comprehension! However, I pass this by; for I am sure that no one with the least smattering of literary culture will have the slightest hesitation in agreeing with me. I will proceed to my next point, that no one will achieve sufficient skill even in speaking, unless he makes a thorough study of all the workings of nature and forms his character on the precepts of philosophy and the dictates of reason. For it is with good cause that Lucius Crassus, in the third book of the *de Oratore*, affirms that all that is said concerning equity, justice, truth and the good, and their opposites, forms part of the studies of an orator, and that the philosophers, when they exert their powers of speaking to defend these virtues, are using the weapons of rhetoric, and not their own. But he also confesses that the knowledge of these subjects must be sought from the philosophers for the reason that, in his opinion, philosophy has more effective possession of them. And it is for the same reason that Cicero in several of his books and letters proclaims that eloquence has its fountain-head in the most secret springs of wisdom, and that consequently for a considerable time the instructors of morals and of eloquence were identical. Accordingly this exhortation of mine must not be taken to mean that I wish the orator to be a philosopher, since there is no other way of life that is further removed from the duties of a statesman and the tasks of an orator. For what

philosopher has ever been a frequent speaker in the courts or won renown in public assemblies? Nay, what philosopher has ever taken a prominent part in the government of the state which forms the most frequent theme of their instructions? None the less I desire that he, whose character I am seeking to mould, should be a "wise man" in the Roman sense, that is, one who reveals himself as a true statesman, not in the discussions of the study, but in the actual practice and experience of life. But inasmuch as the study of philosophy has been deserted by those who have turned to the pursuit of eloquence, and since philosophy no longer moves in its true sphere of action and in the broad daylight of the forum, but has retired first to porches and gymnasia and finally to the gatherings of the schools, all that is essential for an orator, and yet is not taught by the professors of eloquence, must undoubtedly be sought from those persons in whose possession it has remained. The authors who have discoursed on the nature of virtue must be read through and through, that the life of the orator may be wedded to the knowledge of things human and divine. But how much greater and fairer would such subjects appear if those who taught them were also those who could give them most eloquent expression! O that the day may dawn when the perfect orator of our heart's desire shall claim for his own possession that science that has lost the affection of mankind through the arrogance of its claims and the vices of some that have brought disgrace upon its virtues, and shall restore it to its place in the domain of eloquence, as though he had been victorious in a trial for the restoration of stolen goods!¹

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

I. WILKINS, A. S., *Roman Education*, Cambridge University Press, 1905. — A standard treatment of this subject.

¹ *Institutio Oratoria*, XII. Tr. Butler, "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

2. GWYNN, A., *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926. — A recent and scholarly work.

3. CICERO, *De Senectute*; PLINY THE YOUNGER, *Letters*; and QUINTILIAN, *Institutio Oratoria* — in translations of the "Loeb Classical Library," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. — Latin works which should add to the concreteness of the student's appreciation of Roman life, institutions, and education.

4. MONROE, P., *Source Book of the History of Education*, Macmillan, 1901. — Contains extensive selections from the works of Cicero and Quintilian as bearing on education.

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

IN our consideration of the ancient origins of Western culture and education we have, up to this point, taken account of the intellectual legacy which was developed among the Greeks and of the institutional legacy which was the product of the Roman genius for businesslike administration. We turn now to a third legacy from those ancient times which was for many centuries the central organizing principle of Western life and which continues to be probably the most powerful influence in the personal life of individuals. Of course we refer to Christianity and the Christian church.

In speaking of Christianity it is highly important that one should remember that it is not a simple thing, but a highly complex one; that it has never been static, complete at any one time, but is a changing, developing institution, which has evolved with reference to the pressure of other forms of institutional life about it. It is just this complexity of Christianity which has caused it to interlace with so many other interests and it is just this power of adjusting to new circumstances which accounts for the perennial power of the church.

The religion of Jesus. — Christianity is first and foremost a religion, and as such it defines the be-

liever's fundamental attitudes toward reality and fixes the place of the individual in the universe. As a religion Christianity continued the finest tradition of the old Jewish prophets. It conceived of the universe as the creation of an all-wise, all-powerful God, who ruled the storm and gave fruitfulness to the fields and increase to the herds and flocks. But if the Hebrew God was the Lord of nature, much more was he the king of the realm of moral values. His chief demand upon men was that they should be good — that they should prove their devotion to him by showing works of justice and mercy, temperance and humility.

Jesus of Nazareth was born in the reign of Augustus Caesar. Indeed, it was the sovereign's demand — that all citizens of Judea report to their native place in order that a complete census roll might be prepared — which brought the father and mother of Jesus to the town of Bethlehem. Jesus came into a religious environment of church formalism and church politics. The tremendous majesty and moral sublimity of the Jewish religion at its best were being lost in the petty observance of a ritual and a law which had been spun out to cover, in the most restricting way, the smallest details of existence. Jesus recalled his fellow Jews to a renewed acceptance of the best of the Jewish religion. Again he brought into the foreground the supreme importance of mercy, humility, and love. He stressed the necessity of being sound in attitudes, in inner motives, and relegated to the realm of the unimportant that meticulous observance of formal prescriptions which

had come to characterize the practice of Jewish religion.

Central in Jesus' conception of God was his all-compassing benevolence. God, who watched over the fall of a single sparrow and who clothed the lilies of the field, would not relax his care over his human children. To all weak and wayward sons of men, he stood in the relationship of a father, ready to forgive and welcome the errant child. Let the weak and heavy laden come unto Him and find rest. Let the humble and the poor and the afflicted take heart, for of theirs might easily be the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus called God "Father" and taught all men likewise to think of him as Father. And if God was their Father all men by the same bond were brothers. Love God and love your fellowmen as brothers, thus became the rule of life.

The tremendous simplification and the warm personalizing of the relationship between the individual and the universe which was brought about by this religious formula was not accomplished, however, at the expense of dignity and majesty. God's kingdom was essentially a moral kingdom and one's place in it depended upon the faithfulness of his inner life. That kingdom was to spread until it eventually would embrace all mankind. Irresistibly it was to sweep over all lands and climes and peoples, until God, the Universal King, would rule in his commonwealth of righteousness over all the earth. In that kingdom of the moral life, the great of the existent world might be small and the rich might with difficulty achieve entrance; little children would lead

the great men of the earth, and poor beggars, despised taxgatherers, and humble fisherfolk would sit at the right hand of God himself. Jesus told men that they were the sons of God and called upon them to be perfect even as God is perfect !

The religious and intellectual background of Christianity. — The tremendous power of this new religious appeal is to be fully understood only if we recall some of the circumstances under which it occurred. Already we are familiar with the great change which had come into the daily life of men living in the eastern Mediterranean lands when the little independent states had been merged into great empires, first of Alexander and his successors and then into the empire of Rome. The political motive, which had largely defined the moral relationships of the individual, was to a considerable extent removed by that great merging of little states, and the individual was compelled to find in philosophy or religion a means of placing himself in the universe and finding a rule of conduct and significance for his daily life. Men wanted to find themselves, for in that great impersonal empire they were lost. Accordingly ethical philosophies prospered and religious innovation was rife. New religions were welcomed from Asia and Egypt, and Greek cults, organized in the form of secret societies of initiates into mysterious ceremonies, attracted thousands of followers in the Graeco-Roman world.

The situation which developed in the religious realm in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era was extremely

complex. However, two points stand out as characteristic of the winning tendency of the times. In the first place, men wished to be assured of their personal continuance after death. To be able to believe that after the rather stale drama of their lives was played out they could go on to a continued and more interesting — even glorious — existence was the surest negation to the sense of the futility of life which so sorely oppressed mankind in those centuries. A great many of the religions and mysteries of the time which secured popular following stressed this very factor of immortality.

In the second place, there was a widespread distrust of the material body, its sordid appetites and its hot indulgences. If men were to be made fit for the eternal life, they had to be purified of their fleshly lusts. Many of the cults of the time represented in their worship the purification of the individual through fasting, meditation, prayer, and ceremonial cleansing, or baptizing. Thus washed clean of their sins against the soul or spirit they were fit to partake of eternal life and happiness.

This belief in the dualism of mind and matter has already been encountered in the discussion of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, and the conception was among the most influential forces in the intellectual life of the times of Jesus and during the centuries immediately following. Intricate systems of beliefs were built up which placed God as pure Being, mind over matter, knowing without admixture of sense, above the physical universe. That universe was explained in various ways as being the

creation or emanation of the pure Being which was its cause. Mankind was a part of this great creation and each man represented in his makeup both the divine nature from which he had emanated and the material nature in which his soul was ensnared. The chief object of man's striving should be to reach again the divine state from which he had degenerated, and the means at his disposal were the suppression of the material side of himself and the development of his spiritual nature.

Important among the various manifestations of this general form of philosophic and religious belief was the work of Philo, a Jew who lived in Alexandria during the years when Jesus was preaching in Palestine. He endeavored to restate the Jewish religion as contained in the Old Testament Scriptures so as to reconcile it with the philosophy of Plato. God, according to Philo, was pure Being, who acted upon the world of matter through his agent the Logos, which was represented in the Jewish religion by the angels. The Logos was the divine power of God, the first born of God, who contained in himself the attributes and power of God and at the same time was the representative of man. Man thus by indirect descent from God retained some of the divine character, and his salvation depended upon putting down the flesh and its blandishments and rising free to his great counterpart.¹

In many other forms, this same thought is to be found in the religious life of the early Christian

¹ See Alexander, *A Short History of Philosophy*, pp. 141-142; Fairweather, *Jesus and the Greeks*, pp. 164-216.

centuries. Recent research has thrown much light on the truly bewildering number of formulations of this theme, which, combined with various forms of Oriental religions, seems to have made its way into the everyday consciousness of a great many of the inhabitants of the Graeco-Roman world. Under the name of Hellenistic religion or Gnosticism, this religio-philosophical amalgam represents the true background of the struggle of Christianity for survival and ultimate supremacy. Common to all forms of Gnosticism, whether pagan or Christian, was the thought of man as being imprisoned by fate within the concentric circles of the universe. Far above him, out beyond the gateways guarded by the sun, the moon, and the stars, by principalities and by powers, "the Great Father abode in a realm of bliss, above fate and death and evil gods." In order to reach that distant and difficult and infinitely desirable haven of peace the poor human being needed to know the way and the countersigns which would open up the dreaded gates. Gnosticism, in its various forms, undertook to teach its devotees the way out of their earthly existence to their heavenly home.¹

Finally, one should mention Neo-Platonism as the last effort of Greek philosophy in antiquity to furnish mankind with the keys to the kingdom of heaven. It was a philosophy which brought to its logical conclusion the theme of the last few pages, namely, the essential oneness and perfection of God, the emanation of the universe from him, the partici-

¹ See Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 50-109; Fairweather, *Jesus and the Greeks*, pp. 302-317.

pation of mankind in the nature of God while at the same time being bound in the mesh of material substance and fleshly desires, and the way up again to God through the suppression of the material element that estranges man from the realm of blessedness and peace. Neo-Platonism was more than a philosophy; it was an ecstatic religion, and during the third and fourth Christian centuries was the most vigorous and effective opponent of Christianity in the Roman world.¹

It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that the old paganisms of Greece and Rome had entirely lost their hold during the period when Christianity was winning its way. Even educated men and women continued to revere the old religions and to practice faithfully the rites and ceremonies both of a public nature and of the private family life, while the great mass of the population remained loyal to the religion of their fathers. They believed in the sacrifices, the libations, and the charms which were intended to placate the thousand and one divinities which by common consent presided over every conceivable aspect of human activity. To the end this great majority continued to be pagan at heart and even after Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, this essential paganism of the people continued under the forms and practices of the Christian church.

Development of Christian thought. — It has seemed essential to place before the reader the back-

¹ See Alexander, *A Short History of Philosophy*, pp. 144-151; Fairweather, *Jesus and the Greeks*.

ground of the religious and intellectual life of the times of Christ in order that he might appreciate not only the welcome which the religion of Jesus was to receive, but also the adjustments which would have to be made if that religion was to survive and prosper. Certainly men were ready for just the message that Jesus brought. They desired a great and living faith which would catch them up out of their insignificance, out of their brutishness, out of their hopelessness, and give them a consciousness of worth in this life and a hope in an eternal life to come. Jesus brought them such a faith.

At first the appeal of the new faith was principally to the lowly and the downtrodden. They spoke the name of Jesus, and with that mystic symbol they broke the powers of darkness and found themselves lifted up to kinship with God. Off they threw the old habits of self-indulgence, of cruelty, of beastliness, and lived simply, prayerfully, in brotherly love. Brought to punishment because they were unwilling to compromise in any degree with the dominant official paganism, they joyfully suffered martyrdom. And yet their very martyrdom brought converts and the church grew in numbers and power. Not only were the poor and ignorant being attracted to the new faith, but men and women of substance and education were finding in it the answer to their otherwise hopelessly insoluble problem. It will be impossible in this connection to tell the story of the development of Christianity in power and influence. Suffice it to say that by the year 311 A.D. the Christians had become so numerous and influential in the

Roman world that the Emperor Galerius placed the worship of the Christian God upon the same footing as the worship of the other gods. The Emperor Constantine (306-337) became a personal adherent of Christianity.

It is essential to our purpose, however, that we pay some attention to the intellectual changes that were going on in Christianity during that period of less than three centuries. The religion of Jesus had been a simple, direct religio-ethical appeal. It operated on lines of faith and emotion rather than on lines of intellect. It was a Jewish revival of a Jewish religion, and showed little or no signs of the influence of the Greek intellectual formulas of the day. The life work of St. Paul in the generation following the death of Jesus was the breaking down of the exclusively Jewish application of the new religion and the opening up of the new dispensation to all races and conditions of men. In his writings are to be caught glimpses here and there of the surrounding intellectual forces of which Christianity would ultimately have to take account, but it is only at the close of the first Christian century, in the Gospel according to St. John, that there is definitely recognizable the adaptation which even by that time the status of Jesus and his gospel had undergone. St. John boldly identifies Jesus with the Logos (the Word), which was in the beginning, which was with God, and which was God. "And the Logos became flesh and dwelt among men."

Here at one stroke is the identification of the historical character, Jesus, with the Logos, which was

perhaps the most influential conception of then current philosophy. Jesus the Savior, the right hand of God, the revealer of divine light, the principle of reason in mankind, the comforter, the Holy Spirit, became transferable in the thinking of men educated in the Greek schools of philosophy with the Logos of the Stoics, with the Logos of Philo the Jew, and in general with the principle of mediation which had to be posited in order to pass over the gap which existed between the absolute perfection of God on the one hand and the imperfection and worthlessness of matter and of everything admixed with matter, on the other.¹

That Christianity made its junction with the dominant intellectual modes of the early Christian centuries along the lines indicated above is a commonplace of church history. Indeed, it is that fusion which alone made it possible for Christianity to gain its so universal appeal. To the Greek scholar, impressed by the ethical purity of Christianity, there was held out the possibility of interpreting that religion in terms of his cherished philosophy. As for the uneducated, the simple promise of salvation through belief in Jesus and persistence in good works was all that he asked. Both the practical-minded and the speculative had their wish, and thus the church drew adherents from all walks of life and became a universal institution.

It is extremely important, however, to keep in mind the fact that as the church developed it took

¹ See Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, pp. 171-282.

on very definitely an intellectual content, because it is just that intellectual factor which has been responsible for the close union of religion and higher education in the subsequent history of Western education. Into the simple religious teaching of Jesus had infiltrated, during the three centuries following his death, a technical metaphysical system which was the heritage, not from Sinai nor from Calvary, but from Athens and Alexandria, and most of the intellectual controversies which have raged about the Christian doctrine have been over that selfsame element of Greek metaphysics rather than over the religion of Jesus.

The Church Fathers found themselves in a truly difficult position. It was natural and inevitable that the central points of the Christian doctrine should be adapted to, and interpreted in terms of, the prevailing intellectual fashions. However, it was an extremely dangerous tendency and one which required careful handling. Once embarked upon that turgid sea of Greek speculation, the Christian doctrine was in danger of running into all sorts of odd and individual interpretations and of losing itself in the extravagances of Gnosticism. Early it seemed desirable, and here one sees the sound executive sense of the Romans who built up the Church, to agree upon some formulas which had the sanction of the church authorities. As a result we find as early as the beginning of the second century a creed which resembles closely the Apostles' Creed as used in contemporary church worship. This creed contained only the cardinal points of the Christian faith

— belief in God, the Father, creator of heaven and earth; a belief in God, the Son, in whom men found salvation; and a belief in the Holy Ghost, the representative of God in the community of saints.

The church, however, was unable to stand still at this simple statement of its doctrine, but was driven into metaphysical speculation in order to hold the balance against various forms of Hellenistic religion which threatened its life. In order to avoid having its followers misled by false doctrines, the true doctrines had to be stated, and since the aggressors made use of the whole armory of Greek philosophical thought, there was no help for it but to use the same weapons in defense. Men like Justin Martyr (beheaded 166 A.D.), Irenaeus, and the great masters of Alexandria, Clement and Origen, all of whom lived during the second century, were among the Fathers of the church who provided the intellectual formulas upon which Christian theology has since rested. Clement and Origen had been trained in all the subtleties of Greek philosophy and had no fear of it. Clement, for example, considered that the great Greek thinkers like Socrates and Plato had been only following another way to God than the more direct way of revelation. Consequently these Greek Fathers speculated boldly and freely and built a dizzy structure of metaphysics in and through and about the simple story of "Christ, and him crucified."

The more practical Roman mind was throughout suspicious of the philosophizing tendency. Tertullian, a contemporary of Clement of Alexandria, a

lawyer by training and profession, and one of the greatest of the Latin Fathers, distrusted dialectic whether in the hands of Christians or heretics. He complained that the same subject matter was discussed over and over again by the philosophers and the heretics and saw in the fine-spun argument over moot issues a fertile source of error. With indignant contempt for system-building and the drawing of hair-fine distinctions, he said, "Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition."¹

If the Greek Fathers were primarily concerned in making of Christianity a satisfactory subject of belief, the Roman Fathers were primarily concerned in maintaining a Christian church in the midst of daily temptations and persecutions. Tertullian complained that the philosophers would not face the lions for their belief in Christ, but rather counseled Christians to run away from martyrdom.² The leaders that built up the church as an organization desired a short and simple statement of belief, without undue subtlety. For them the creed was a battle-cry which the Christians were to use against paganism and torture. They saw the need of a creed which would define the nature of the Christian faith and which would hold men to the uttermost. To a certain extent they compromised with the developments of philosophical speculation, for the creed became ever more and more involved and intricate, but they were always trying to put a band around

¹ Monroe, *Text-Book in the History of Education*, p. 241.

² Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*.

the metaphysical tendencies, fighting for a centripetal movement of faith, and holding in check the speculative interest, which, given free rein, would have lost for Christianity its identity in the mazes of Gnosticism and for the church its power to endure.

The practical conclusion of doctrinal development and the definite triumph of the organizing and administrative tendency within the church may be regarded as taking place with the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. This Council occurred after Christianity had secured the personal adherence of the Emperor Constantine, and indeed, it was called on his initiative and, to a considerable extent, controlled by him. All the bishops of the church, from east and west, were invited to assemble for the settlement of theological controversies and to decide upon an authoritative creed. The great question at issue was that of the nature and attributes of the second person of the trinity. Bishop Athanasius held that Christ had absolute equality with the Father, while Bishop Arius maintained that the Son was in a position of inferiority to the Father. The question was settled by majority vote in favor of the view held by Athanasius. The resolution adopted by the Council reads as follows :

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is of the same substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father; of whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh and lived as man among men, suffered, and

rose the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But those who say, "Once he was not," and "Before he was begotten he was not," and "He came into existence out of what was not," or "That the Son of God was of a different essence or being," or "That He was made," or "Is changeable or mutable," those the Catholic Church anathematizes.¹

The decline of intellectual freedom. — Second to no other influence in its importance for the subsequent history of Western education, is the factor which we have just observed coming into full existence in the Council of Nicaea. For seven hundred years of classical antiquity there had been no compulsion upon an individual regarding what he should believe. For the same length of time, with only slight exception, every individual had enjoyed freedom to express his intellectual beliefs. Not even the persecution of the Christians constitutes an exception to this principle, for the Christians were persecuted because their beliefs led them to decline what the government regarded as the full performance of their duties as citizens. They were persecuted not for what they believed, but for what they did. But from the Council of Nicaea on, the Western World passed rapidly to a time when men are persecuted for the divergence of their beliefs from the accepted canon irrespective of the propriety, even holiness, of their conduct.

For three hundred years the church had been fighting for its life, and now the fight had been won. Behind it were the days of outlawry and martyrdom.

¹Taken from the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Scribner's, New York.

Now it was enjoying not only legal toleration, but the adherence and the patronage of the Roman Emperors. The already weakened Empire was destined to dissolve, and out of its shadowy remains, built up according to the very forms of Roman administration, would step the church to dominate the religious and the intellectual, and to influence to a large extent the political life of Europe for a thousand years. And that church was to owe its unity and its strength to a set of intellectual formulas, which it was to be determined, and perhaps bound, at all costs to maintain. A new commonwealth, universal and Christian, was coming into existence, whose constitution was a body of dogma and a form of administration. If in the day of the Empire it had been treason to refuse to salute the Emperor's effigy, in the day of the new empire of the church it would come to be treason if one refused to say the formularies of that institution, or ventured to say them differently from the official form, or denied adherence to its system of administration.

The Theodosian Code of Roman law, which was completed in 438, defined any disagreement with the beliefs of the Catholic church as heresy and prescribed heavy punishments against heretics. Meetings of heretics were made subject to forcible interruption and the participants made liable to fine. Heretical books were to be sought out and burned by the magistrates, and the penalty for concealing such works was death.

Thus ends an old and begins a new era of intellectual history.

The accommodation of Christianity to paganism. —

In the immediately preceding pages we have been concerned with the changes which took place in the content of Christian belief in the first three centuries of the development of Christianity. Those changes were necessary from two standpoints. In the first place because it was possible to attract educated men to the new religion only if the old anthropomorphic religious statement was interpreted in terms of the prevailing philosophies of the times and with reference to the intellectual necessities of men who had been trained in the critical school of Greek philosophy. In the second place it was necessary that Christianity should undergo this intellectual interpretation and expansion if it was to endure and make headway against the host of other oriental religions which were being practiced in the Graeco-Roman world of that time and which were undergoing the same type of intellectualizing at the hands of philosophic spirits.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that only a very small proportion of the professing Christians of this period were capable of philosophic interpretations or interested in them. By most, the new gospel message was received in simple faith. In it they heard the call to a purified personal life, oftentimes undertaken at great cost of privation and suffering, and in it they found the promise of an abundant reward in an everlasting home with God. They believed in "Christ, and him crucified."

There can be no doubt as to the potency of such a belief to bring about tremendous changes in conduct,

and we have the testimony of history that during the first two centuries of the life of the church the Christians practiced to a remarkable degree that austere self-discipline which set them off so completely from pagan society. However, the religious habits of a lifetime and the prevailing practices of the society in which they lived were bound to exert an influence in certain striking ways upon their new religious experiences. Unrelieved monotheism was too austere for their untutored minds. The universe had for them been peopled with minor divinities. Their times were alive with belief in spirits, demons, auguries, and family and local divinities. Each church even had its official exorcist for the casting out of evil spirits. These new children of Christ could receive a new belief and a new conscience and way of life, but they could not, no more than we, change the texture and scope of their intellectual outlook. Accordingly the practice of the Christian religion tended to repeople the universe with a new type of subsidiary divinities. Among these the earliest and the most usual were the martyrs, who by reason of their triumphant suffering, were recognized as holy men and thought of as living eternally in the presence of God. From the same motive, relics of the martyrs possessed peculiar efficacy in warding off harm and bringing success, so that it came to be regarded as essential that every new church should have in its possession some sacred relics. In the course of time practically every phase of man's life came to have connected with it the memory of some saint. There were saints whose

particular care was a given trade, or a certain class, such as travelers or women in childbirth, or who were to be worshiped on certain days, or in certain places. Finally, with the full development of the ascetic spirit in the fourth century, the position of Mary, the Mother of Christ, became extremely important in Christian worship.

God was too remote, too exalted, for the contemplation of the humble worshiper, conscious of his sins and unworthiness. But St. Peter or St. Stephen had been men like him and had known the temptations and weaknesses which he experienced. How much better then and more fitting if he should put his petition in their hands to place before the great God! Or, how infinitely desirable it seemed to him, if he might lay his sins and bring his dearest longings before God through the mediation of Mary, that lovely, saintly Mother of God, representative of all that is womanly and tender and forgiving. Thus the transition from the active practice of pagan worship in a still pagan society was made easy for the new believer in Christ, but by the same token, Christianity in some sense became pagan.¹

The same sort of accommodation with the prevailing religious practices of the early Christian centuries in the Graeco-Roman world is seen in the adaptation of a great many rites and ceremonies which were common to the "mysteries" of the day. Chief among these were the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

¹ See Walker, *A Short History of the Christian Church*, pp. 170 ff.

The new convert to Christianity was expected to undergo a novitiate of some duration until he should show his appreciation of the meaning of the new way of life which he had expressed his desire to embrace. During that period he was known as a catechumen and was subject to instruction by the clergy in the moral standards and the religious experiences of Christianity. We must appreciate the change necessary in the attitudes and conduct of a man who had lived the ordinary life of a Roman or Near-Eastern town, before he would be able to take upon himself the yoke of the Man of Galilee. He had probably frequented the circus, the gladiatorial games of the amphitheater, and the obscenities of theatrical representations, had been loose in his own life, and had probably no conception of the meaning of that greatest of all Christian virtues — love of his fellow man. To cause that man to hate what he had loved, to abjure much that he had practiced, to develop him in Christian outlook and conduct, was a work of no small difficulty, and the church had to provide definite means of instruction in the Christian doctrine and way of life. It also found it necessary to protect itself by admitting only those who were tried and found worthy into the innermost circle of the believers. Catechumens were admitted to the public part of the religious service, which consisted of hymns, scripture reading, preaching, and prayer, but only those who had been baptized were told the true and exact formulas of the creed and the Lord's prayer and were admitted to the sacrament of the Eucharist. The catechumenate and the secret fea-

tures of worship were abolished in the sixth century when the entire population had become Christian.¹

However, of all the forces that tended to lessen the difference between Christians and pagans in the course of the early centuries the most important was the dilution that the church suffered from the admission of half-hearted members. When persecution against the Christians was active, this danger was slight, but when it was easy to be a Christian the menace appeared. During the first half of the third century there was little molestation of Christians on the part of the government and during that time a great many members were received who apparently could with difficulty or not at all be held up to the high level of the Christian ideal of life. The supreme trial of the church in this direction came, of course, when Christianity was first granted legal toleration and then adopted by the government as the official religion. Naturally under such conditions people flocked to the new religion, and when practically an entire population suddenly adopts a new religion, they necessarily carry over into the new religious life a tremendous habitual residue of beliefs and conduct. When the entire population became Christian, the church could no longer be selective of its members, with the result that many Christians were such in name only. Whereas in the early years the church had consisted of a small body of tried and true believers in the midst of a hostile pagan population,

¹ See Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, pp. 92 ff.; Hatch, *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*.

in the sixth century it consisted of a very imperfectly Christianized total population.¹

The higher and the lower Christian life. — Increasingly after the second century the conviction grew that there were two levels of the Christian life. On the lower level were those who married and reared families, engaged in business, and enjoyed, however moderately, the ordinary creature comforts of existence. They practiced the Christian virtues and were in all respects faithful, but yet they were thought to be living under a sort of compromise with evil. The love between husband and wife was a concession to the flesh. The affection of parents for their children tended to interfere with the love they should bestow upon God. The pursuit of gain in the ordinary business processes interfered with the laying up of treasures in heaven. The ordinary enjoyments of soft raiment, good food, and comfortable homes were thought to relax the single-minded devotion of the believer to affairs of the heavenly kingdom. Really to serve God one must do things that go against instinct. He must suppress all the desires of the flesh and crucify all worldly selfish ambitions. Passionate love is evil. Family affection is a hindrance to the holy life. Possession of property is a mesh that keeps one's soul entangled with the earth. To live the higher Christian life one must eschew love, earthly goods, and pride of social position, for all these things are of the world, the flesh, and the devil. They were thought to feed the body and the selfish ego and to starve the soul and

¹ Cf. Walker, *ibid.*, p. 102 f.

hinder the full exercise of the spiritual nature of man.

As the distinction between the two levels of the Christian life became conscious, those who felt themselves desirous of living the higher life withdrew from society and lived lives of self-denial and contemplation. This practice was not exclusively a Christian practice as there were other religions of the time in which the ascetic bent was developed and was similarly expressed. Indeed, asceticism, both within Christianity and outside of it, rested upon certain intellectual presuppositions which we have seen to be common to the age. The dualism which Plato had posited between idea and matter, between soul and body, had taken possession of the intellectual world during the early Christian centuries and had found expression in a wide range of Hellenistic religions, in Neo-Platonism, and in Christianity as well. The example of ascetic withdrawal came to the Christians from Egypt, but was taken up by them and organized and developed. Asceticism was a tremendous phenomenon in the history of Christianity, but it is well to remember that its theoretical foundation was a faulty psycho-physiological generalization. Backed up by all the influence of religious enthusiasm and the power of the church, this erroneous conception of the meaning of mind and its relation to the body was for centuries the foundation stone of moral judgments and the ultimate criterion of the good life. Even to-day, we have not satisfactorily reorganized our thinking concerning human relationships so as to take account of the new knowl-

edge that we have of the interdependence of the spiritual and the physical sides of human nature.

However, a great deal is to be said on the practical side for the tendency of the earnest Christians of the period we are considering to withdraw from the ordinary sights and sounds and temptations of daily life. They would not compromise with their environment and they could not conquer it, so they withdrew from it and negatived its practices and values in their lives of self-denial and worship of God. We shall see later on the tremendous part which monasticism and the ascetic ideal played in the history of western education.

The interrelationships between Christianity and education during the first five centuries of the Christian era were numerous and important. Some of these, particularly as concerned the interdependence of Christian thought and the prevailing intellectual fashions of the day, have already been considered. For the most part, however, the significant influences of Christianity upon the organization and practice of education were exerted after the church had secured the support of the civil government in the fourth century. Following the change in its fortunes, the history of the church became an integral part of the general history of the times, and all education, in a real sense, became Christian education. Accordingly, in order to secure the proper perspective in the matter of educational development it will be profitable to turn our attention again to Roman society as a whole.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. WALKER, W., *A History of the Christian Church*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918, pp. 1-194. — Gives an excellent systematic account of the development of the dogmas and the administration of the Church.

2. BEVAN, E., *Hellenism and Christianity*, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1921, Chs. IV-V.

3. GLOVER, T. R., *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1920, Chs. IX-X.

4. FAIRWEATHER, W., *Jesus and the Greeks*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1924, Parts II and III.

5. HATCH, E., *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, Williams and Norgate, London, 1907. — The four books named above, each possessing its own excellence, provide a picture of the interaction of Christianity with other intellectual and religious movements of the early Christian centuries.

6. HODGSON, G., *Primitive Christian Education*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906, Chs. IV-VI. — Gives a detailed account of the union of philosophy and the Christian way of life as it was accomplished in the centers of higher education.

7. ST. JEROME, *Letters*; No. 107, *To Laeta*; No. 108, *To Eustochium*, in "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church," Vol. VI, The Christian Literature Company, New York, 1893. — Shows the spirit of asceticism and has bearings on various educational issues of the times.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DECLINE OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION

DURING the three centuries through which we have followed the development of Christianity, profound changes had come over the Roman Empire, although to the superficial view these changes were not easily apparent. The Imperial administration continued to hold its sway over an undiminished area. The courts continued to hear cases and dispense justice according to the Roman civil law, which was constantly being refined and improved. Education, industry, amusements, and public spectacles continued as before. But, in spite of all this, the Empire was sinking into a state of weakness which was to cause, in the fifth century, its dissolution and the almost total eclipse of classical civilization and culture in the West.

With Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) there came to an end a long line of just and able emperors and a long period of internal security and peace. During that time the frontiers had been held against the barbarian tribes pressing upon them from the north and had even been extended. The roads had been maintained, the army had been kept in order, brigandage had been kept down, and the famous *pax Romana* had dwelt within all the borders of the Roman world. But even under the philosophic



Courtesy of Professor James K. Finch

Fig. 18. — "Pont du Gard," Nîmes, France. A portion of an aqueduct more than twenty-five miles in length where it crosses the River Gardon. No cement used except in the open canal at the top.



Fig. 19. — Roman bridge over the River Tagus in Spain, completed about 100 A.D. Fine example of Roman engineering skill.

Emperor Marcus Aurelius threats of what was finally to come to Rome put in their appearance. It was only after the most energetic efforts that the pressure of German tribes along the northern frontier from Italy to its eastern limits had been resisted. In the same reign a great pestilence, brought back to Italy by some troops returning from the Near



Fig. 20. — The remains of a Roman theater at Arles, France

East, greatly reduced the population, some authorities estimating the losses to be as much as one-half of all inhabitants. The expenses of the reign were heavy, and the sources of revenue were steadily growing less, so that the government experienced a sharp pinch in the treasury and was compelled to levy killing taxes and to issue greatly depreciated currency.

Historians are in practical agreement that the fall of the Empire was due to the decay of its economic life and the disappearance of the sources of the revenue which was essential to the maintenance of the army and the civil service. According to the Roman system of taxation, the senatorial class was exempt and the main burden of governmental support fell upon the *curiales* or common citizens, who were the small land owners. The imperial policy had steadily been one of granting citizenship generously to provincials, and in 212 A.D. this tendency received its highest possible development when every provincial of good standing was made a Roman citizen. The honor, however, was a doubtful one, for it meant induction into the class whose tax payments supported the Empire and upon whom the burdens of taxation were destined to rest more and more heavily. In the fourth Christian century men belonging to the class of *curiales* were using every possible means of getting out of that class in order to avoid financial ruin and practical slavery to the state. The government countered by passing laws which would make it impossible for them to leave their class. As time went on, however, the exactions of the government became more and more galling and the mode of collection became increasingly unjust and cruel, with the result that the sources of revenue were gradually destroyed and the returns from taxations were inadequate for the maintenance of the public service.

With the decline of revenues the roads and bridges fell into disrepair, local policing became inefficient,

and brigandage arose on so extensive a scale as to make travel difficult and dangerous. With the means of communication interrupted, life became localized and the contacts among men which stimulate the intellectual life became less numerous. And, finally, when late in the fourth century and continually thereafter, the pressure of the German hordes upon the northern frontiers became frantic through fear of the assaulting Huns in their rear, the available resources were unable to maintain the Roman garrisons and the armies that alone could hold back so formidable an advance. As a result the Empire in the West disintegrated. Its provinces and even the Italian homeland were invaded by the German tribes, who settled down and possessed the soil and superseded with their primitive culture the old civilization of Rome.

The centralization of educational administration under the later empire. — The culmination of the growing internal weakness of Rome did not take place, however, until the fifth century, and there occurred, during that period of gradual decline, a great many developments which it is essential for us to have in mind as we study the evolution of our western system of education. One of the most significant of these changes was the increased interest shown by the state in the promotion and support of education. Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) had begun the practice of paying stipends to the teachers of rhetoric in Rome and his successors had extended this policy of liberality to the teachers of rhetoric throughout the provinces. Hadrian (117-138 A.D.)

had founded the first school for higher education which he called the Athenaeum. Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.) had built schools and provided scholarships to aid poor boys in getting an education.

The increased interest of the emperors in education developed along with the growth of their own absolutism and the centralization of Roman government. Accordingly, one may logically expect larger participation in education on the part of the civil administration following the reorganization of the government which took place under Diocletian (284-305 A.D.). Diocletian changed the Roman state into an absolute monarchy and developed a bureaucratic system of administration that brought the entire empire immediately under the control of its head. He multiplied the number of officials and instituted checks and balances among an intricate hierarchy of public servants so as to leave the ultimate control of every question in the hands of the central authority. The reorganized government became the prototype of the absolute monarchy of modern times.

The influence of the new form of government on education was soon manifested. Constantine (306-337 A.D.) passed a great many laws which showed the intention of the civil authorities not only to foster but to control education. "In order that they might more easily instruct greater numbers in liberal studies," Constantine in successive edicts of 321, 326, and 333 not only reaffirmed the existing laws regarding public schoolmasters, but exempted them from a great many troublesome liabilities.

They were excused from military service and the entertainment of public guests, either civil or military, in their homes, while at the same time they were left free to accept public office. Their persons were specially protected by law against assault.¹ Julian (361-363), called the Apostate Emperor because he tried to repress Christianity and revive paganism, asserted for the first time the right of the Emperor to revise the appointment to professorships made by the local authorities, when he made the demand that all Christian teachers then employed in public schools should be dismissed. "Julian, while he required candidates in the first instance to submit their character and claims to the scrutiny of the (local) authorities, expressly reserved to himself the final sanction of any appointment which they might make."²

The Emperors Valentinian and Valens showed their interest in the detailed control of education in an edict addressed to the prefect of Rome which laid down definite regulations of the life and studies of visiting students. All students coming to Rome to pursue studies were expected to present to the Master of the Census a letter of permission to come. The student had to declare to what studies in particular he meant to devote his attention. The office of the Censuales was to take note of the student's residence and to keep watch on his conduct in order to insure avoidance of bad associations, "and that they should not go too often to the spectacles

¹ See Cole, *Later Roman Education* for translation of edicts.

² See Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*.

nor frequent untimely banquets." If the student misspent his time he was to be "beaten publicly with rods" and sent back home. If he used his time well, he was privileged to remain until his twentieth year. The emperors expressly asked that every year a record of each student should be sent to them "in order that we may be able to know the merits and aptitudes of each, and judge how and when they will be serviceable to us."¹

Gratian, in an edict addressed in 376 to the prefect of the Gauls, prescribed the salaries to be paid rhetors and grammarians by local authorities, and in the fifth century Theodosius and Valentinian brought all public schools under the imperial administration, although it is not likely that this law did away with the probably large class of private teachers.²

The close dependence of education upon the civil power during the last century and a half of the Western Empire is clearly indicated by the legislation reviewed above. The schools were largely dependent upon the state for financial maintenance. The instructors came to be more or less dependent upon the emperor for their appointment and upon his approval for their promotion. The students came to look to the state for employment in the civil service and teachers of note were of outstanding eligibility for honorable and lucrative public office. The means of education had been organized by a closely centralized civil state not only as a nursery of public officials but as an agency for the cultiva-

¹ Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

² Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*, p. 113.

tion of adherence and loyalty to itself. If we have seen in the outcome of the Council of Nicaea (see p. 183) the development of a canon of belief which represents the beginning of the end of that intellectual freedom which characterized the centuries of classical antiquity, we must see in the centralized bureaucracy of the later empire not only the motivation for cultural unity and the suppression of free intellectual development, but also the effective means for realizing those aims.¹

Intellectual life and education. — From the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.) to the deposition of the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in 476, there was no change in the general character of Roman intellectual life except that of depreciation.

In spite of long periods of prosperity and good government, the higher intellect of Rome seems to have been overtaken by a paralysis, and incapable of making any further advance. During all this time no scientific discovery, no fresh native movement in Roman literature was made. The force seems to have been wanting to conceive and carry to completion any considerable and enduring work.²

The Romans had never been greatly interested in science, mathematics, or philosophy, but found, rather, their chief intellectual interests in the study of literature, and that particularly as related to skill in public speech. Effective oratory continued to the end to be the highest objective of education. The chief utilization of public speaking during the last century of the western empire was in the panegyric, or speech in praise of some person, and of this the

¹ Cf. Haarhoff, *ibid.*, 135 ff.

² Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

supreme manifestation was the panegyric pronounced in the presence of the Emperor upon his own august person. Just as Pliny the Younger describes in a letter to a friend the pleasure he had taken in the performance¹ of a wandering sophist whom he had listened to, so Symmachus, a Gallic senator in writing to his friend Ausonius at about the end of the fourth century, finds equal pleasure in the same sort of exhibition of rhetorical skill given by Palladius at a fashionable gathering.

Words almost fail to express the admiration of that ordinarily calm and dignified senator for the performance. It is singular that a man, who could himself speak with great effect on a serious occasion in the Senate, or before the Emperor, should be so carried away by an unreal exhibition of school rhetoric. But the fact remains that this power of using words for mere pleasurable effect, on the most trivial or the most extravagantly absurd themes, was for many ages in both West and East, esteemed the highest proof of talent and cultivation.²

The class which maintained the educated tradition of Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries was the senatorial class, which had grown relatively in wealth and social standing with the crushing out of the small landowning middle class. It was from among the senators that positions of honor were filled and it was they who were the chief patrons of the schools, and, outside of the professional class of teachers, the sole practitioners of literary culture. Many of them prided themselves on their skill as poets and writers of letters or composers of orations. But the narrowness of their lives and the general lack of any real

¹ See *Letters*, II. iii.

² Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

political opportunity restricted their literary activities to the elaboration of commonplace themes. To this work they brought great industry and some taste, but the general effect is shopworn and artificial.¹

The principal study of the schools was grammar, which continued in the fifth century to be what it had been among the Greeks in the third century B.C. and what it had been for that preëminent among all Roman teachers and educators — Quintilian (see p. 153 and ff.). In the fourth century, the Greek and Latin



Fig. 21. — Bookcase and writing instruments of the late Roman Empire. (Taken from Schreiber.)

languages were studied side by side in the schools of Gaul, and we find Ausonius, one of the greatest of the teachers of that time and land, recommending his young grandson to “read thoroughly the composer of the *Iliad* and the works of dear Menander.”² Dill says, however, that there is evidence that in the fifth century the study of Greek

¹ Cf. Dill, *ibid.*, Book V.; Mackail, *Latin Literature*.

² Cf. Cole, *op. cit.*, 9.

in the schools of Gaul was declining. In support of that position is frequently recalled the doubt expressed in the edict of Gratian which called for the appointment of a professor of Greek in Treves (the Emperor's outpost capital on the far-northern frontier) "if one can be found." Virgil continued to be the favorite Latin author, while next in popularity were Horace and Terence. Cicero also remained a favorite, although probably displaced somewhat by the Younger Pliny in the fifth century.¹

Rhetoric was recognized as the highest grade of instruction and the rhetor was assigned just double the salary of the grammarian in the schedule of salaries provided by Gratian. Here again we observe in the teaching of rhetoric the same conservatism which was shown in the grammar school. Cicero's works on oratory and Quintilian's great treatise continued to be employed and the same methods, even the same themes, which had been used three hundred years before in the schools of Rome were followed almost as a sacred canon in the schools of Gaul.²

The Christian attitude toward pagan schools. — The question is frequently — almost inevitably — raised in connection with the period now under consideration as to what was the attitude of the Christians toward the schools. On general principles one should expect them to be opposed to sending their children to schools in which the content of instruc-

¹ Cf. Dill, *op. cit.*, 421.

² See Dill, *op. cit.*; Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*; Cole, *Later Roman Education*.

tion must inevitably have recalled that paganism which it was the purpose of Christianity to destroy and with which there could be no compromise. To send the youth into schools to come under the charm of Homer's or Virgil's reverence for the old gods and heroes was to endanger his steadfastness in the faith and his hold on heaven. But, on the other hand, for the parents of the upper and educated classes to allow their children to grow up without education was unthinkable. There was the practical alternative in most cases — to send their children to pagan schools or to let them remain away from school altogether.

Practically all of the great names of early Christian history are of men who had been educated in the ordinary schools of grammar and rhetoric, and to this training the Greek fathers had added years spent in the study of philosophy. Justin Martyr, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom head the roll of Christian apologists and preachers, and all of them brought to the service of the church powers which had been fostered by the prevalent means of pagan education. While the dangers of pagan learning were evident and real, the church recognized the necessity of having within it educated men and it "began, in the fourth century, to come to terms with pagan culture, as it accommodated itself even in some degree to pagan superstition."¹ St. Jerome (331-420) in his letter to Laeta regarding the education of her infant daughter, Paula, who was to be

¹ Dill, *ibid.*, p. 386.

brought up as a virgin consecrated to Christ, draws in some measure from Quintilian's views concerning early education. Even this little "rose bud" who was to be reared in the most extreme mode of asceticism was to be taught both Greek and Latin verse. Jerome took his beloved library with him when he went into the desert to escape the world and in his monastery at Bethlehem he taught his boys the great authors. St. Augustine (354-430) believed it sound Christian policy to "spoil the Egyptians," that is, to take from pagan schools and learning those arts and skills and that learning which were essential to the full armor of the militant Christian in his warfare against the world.

The entire situation was, of course, profoundly changed after the middle of the fourth century and more particularly after Christianity had become the official religion. In the Roman society of that time there existed an extremely indefinite line between pagan and Christian. Members of the same family were amicably divided in religion, not infrequently a wife being Christian and the husband holding to traditional beliefs of his class and family. Ausonius, the great teacher of Bordeaux, was a nominal Christian, but he reveled in pagan allegory and remonstrated with his friend Paulinus for having become a monk. Panegyrists before Christian emperors called upon the heathen Muses to aid their efforts. Ambrose was elected Bishop of Milan before he had even been baptized a Christian. Great nobles hardly more than nominal in their faith, found it honorable and profitable to accept the

higher offices of the church. And so we see a society which had become Christian by law, but was not yet solidly Christian either in conscience or habit. Under such conditions the problem concerning education, except for the extremists, would not be acute. The Christians sent their children to the same schools as the pagans, and pagan teachers swallowed their prejudices and retained their jobs under a Christian regime. Meantime they continued to use the methods and the materials which had been made sacrosanct by a tradition hundreds of years old.¹

The classical heritage as it was preserved to the Middle Ages. — Almost as if in anticipation of the long march through a barren land which the soldiers of learning were to set out upon after the fall of Rome, the last years of the Empire saw the preparation of a form of concentrated, although rather unpalatable, intellectual rations in the shape of textbooks and compendia of information. For a period of five or six hundred years to come those compilations were to be practically the only contact which Europe was to retain with the intellectual and institutional life of classical antiquity. That is not to say that whole works of Virgil, Cicero, Livy, and other great Latin writers were not to be found in some of the libraries of the Middle Ages, but rather that they were little used. As for the Greek, outside of certain exceptions that will be noted later, the language was to be forgotten and its treasures unknown for hundreds of years. For this reason the books which

¹ Cf. Dill, *ibid.*, Book V.; Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*.

carried over into the medieval period what educated men of that time knew of the learning of antiquity are of special interest to our purpose.

The Marriage of Mercury and Philology written by Martianus Capella, a rhetor of North Africa, probably about the middle of the fifth century, had great popularity during the Middle Ages and may be taken as throwing light, not only on the early medieval level of learning, but also on the relative superficiality into which the Roman schools of the fifth century had descended. The work is divided into nine books, the first two of which are an elaborate allegory used as an introduction to the last seven, which are textbooks on the Seven Liberal Arts — grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The first three of these subjects came customarily to be called the *trivium*, while the last four were called the *quadrivium*. In the introduction, Capella describes the search for a fitting bride for Mercury, the choice of earth-born Philology, her apotheosis, and the nuptial ceremonies. The seven bridesmaids are the Seven Liberal Arts, and as each is presented she delivers a set speech consisting of a textbook in some one of the studies named above. This material is presented without effort at literary style and is remarkably condensed. The result is that a relatively small book contains a great deal of technical information.

The characteristic of the work that deserves to be kept particularly in mind is the fact that it represents a tremendous decline in the scope and method

of education. Grammar, according to the tradition of seven or eight hundred years, had been a study of literature, not only from the standpoint of the structure of language and the handling of literary forms, but also from the standpoint of criticism and appreciation. As such it made extensive use of whole literary works and involved the application of a wide range of erudition. In Capella's work, grammar is just the mechanics of language — definitions, rules of usage, declensions, and conjugations. In the ancient tradition, oratory, or rhetoric, had represented the higher training of youth for public administration and the practice of law and we have already observed the rich course of training through which Quintilian carried his pupils (see p. 160). For Capella, rhetoric is a scrappy selection of definitions of the parts of the oration, of methods of proof, and so forth. Dialectic, which for Plato had been the highest reach of philosophy and for the great age of antiquity the symbol of the most abstruse and comprehensive speculations, is for Capella nothing more nor less than a highly condensed treatise on formal logic. Under the heading of arithmetic, Capella devotes almost all his space to the mystical lore of number. Geometry, which had been brought to so high a state of development by Euclid (see p. 93), is treated in six folio pages in the copy which lies before the writer, and those pages are devoted to the most elementary of geometrical definitions. There are no figures given and no demonstrations. However, under the head of geometry, Capella introduces thirty pages of geography.

Such headings are to be noted as: The position of the earth, the five zones of the earth, the circumference of the earth, longitude, latitude, divisions of the earth, the Pyrenees Mountains and the Province of Narbonne, Italy, the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea, Sardinia, Sicily, and so forth. The sections on astronomy, as indicated by the headings, deal with elementary facts of that subject, while the treatment of music, as we should expect, is from the philosophical, or speculative, standpoint.

Dr. Cole in a very useful little book, *Later Roman Education*, has provided a translation of a part of Capella's very knotty Latin. A few lines taken from the section on dialectic are given herewith to illustrate the type of instructional material which is given in the work once the allegory is out of the way:

Genus is the comprehension of many forms under a single name, as *animal*, whose forms are man, or horse or the like. But sometimes certain forms comprehended under a genus are such that they themselves may be in the relation of genus to other forms, as the genus *man* which is a form to animal, but a genus to *barbarians* and *Romans*. And we may go on dividing the forms of a genus in this way until one comes to an individual thing. For if you divide *man* into male and female, *male* into young and old, young into those who can and those who cannot speak, and if you then divide the young into Ganymede, or any other youth of a known character, then he is not a genus, because we have now come to an individual. But we ought to use whatever genus is nearest to the business in hand, so that if the question is about *man*, we ought to assume his genus to be animal, because that is the most relevant.¹

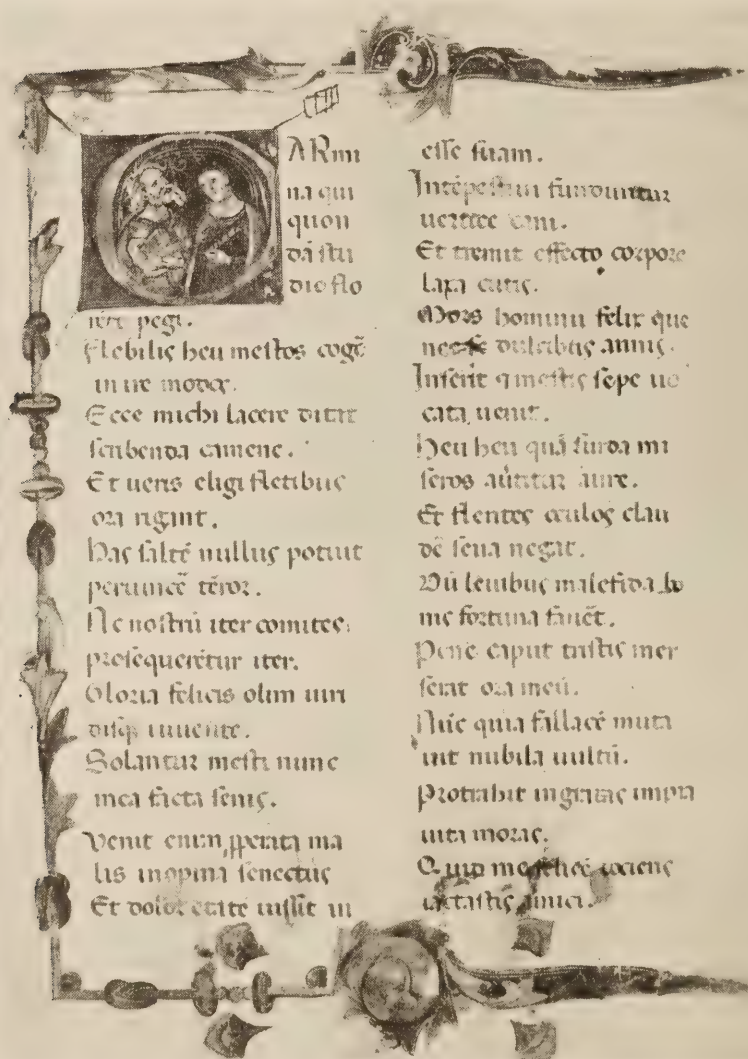
¹ Cole, P. R., *Later Roman Education*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College.

A second great name to be remembered in connection with the preparation of the classical legacy to the early Middle Ages is that of Boethius. Perhaps, strictly speaking, he ought not to be introduced in this chapter, because he was born four years after the last Roman Emperor had been deposed, or in 480 A.D. However, he came of noble Roman stock and was educated in the old tradition. Under Theodoric, one of the ablest of the Teutonic rulers of Italy, Boethius rose to the highest public position, but he lost the confidence of the king, was imprisoned, and finally executed in 524. It was during his long imprisonment that he wrote *Consolations of Philosophy*, which was one of the most widely known and read books of the Middle Ages. Alfred, the great English king of the ninth century, translated the work into Anglo-Saxon, and seven hundred years later Sir Thomas More took it with him to the Tower of London when imprisoned by Henry VIII. The book is not Christian, and yet is hardly pagan. It represents that middle ground where philosophic Christians and noble-minded pagans met in their thinking during the last century of the western empire. Yet the book was universally considered to be a Christian book and its author was eventually made a saint of the church — St. Severinus.¹

In addition to this work of a general nature, which reflected the best spirit of classical ethics and philosophy, Boethius was the author of a translation of two of Aristotle's works on logic, the *Categories* and the *De Interpretatione*, and also of a work by Porphyry

¹ Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*.

in introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle. These translations from his works were the only means



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

Fig. 22. — A page from a manuscript of Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy* dated 1381.

that medieval schoolmen had of knowing the philosophy of Aristotle until the recovery in the West of his writings in the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

turies. Boethius also wrote books on arithmetic and music which had great influence in the immediately succeeding centuries.

In addition to the summaries or handbooks of information that have just been named, the last years of the Empire created a number of schoolbooks that occur again and again in medieval education. The most famous of these is a little book on grammar, written in the fourth century by Donatus, the teacher of St. Jerome. Technically the *Ars Minor* of Donatus, this book was familiarly referred to by many generations of school boys as the *Donat*. It is just a Latin grammar in the simplest and most concise possible form, dealing in question-and-answer method with the parts of speech, their accidence, the declensions, the conjugations, parsing, and rules of syntax. A much larger grammar, and one which served through its numerous quotations from Latin authors to give the medieval student a large part of his acquaintance with Latin literature, was written by a great teacher of the fifth century, Priscian. Cassiodorus (480-575), who had long been a trusted minister of Theodoric, retired at about the age of sixty to found a monastery in the southern part of Italy. He was one of the earliest monastic leaders to stress reading and study as a part of the community discipline, and in order to provide a book that was not too difficult for the unlettered men who constituted, in large part, the monks under him, he made up a little treatise on the Seven Liberal Arts, which continued in use for centuries. Still another little book of lasting fame and usage, which was

LIBER .I.

panye of honest menne.

Si vitam inspicias hominum,
si deniq; mores,
Cum culpent alios, nemo sine
crimine viuít.

no oꝛdelye people doe marcke other
mennes faultes, no mā seeth his owne,
where as in verye dede no personne at
all is voyde of vices yf he wyll narrow-
lye examine hys lyfe and maners.

Quæ nocitura tenes, quamuis
sint chara relinque.

Vtilitas opib; præponi tem-
pore debet.

Otherwhyles it is expedient to thꝛowe
awaye thynges moost deare vnto vs,
yf they shoulde byynge anye ieoperdye
vpon vs, as to cast awaye precious sto-
nes and golde, that oure lyfe myghte
be in moze saufte, oꝛ pleasures, that we
myghte recover oure health. If oꝛ the
pleasures ought not to be consydered,
but the vtilite.

Constans & lenis, vt res expo-
stulat esto.

Temporibus mores sapiens si-
ne crimine mutat.

As tyme requireth, so take byð the, now
these, now those maners. We somtyme
graue

Erasmus
thinketh
it better
thus. Co-
stans et le-
uis ut res
cumque
expostu-
lat esto.

Courtesy of Mr. George A. Plimpton

Fig. 23. — Page of a copy of the *Distichs* of Cato, edited by Erasmus, as it was printed in the sixteenth century for the use of English schoolboys.

written during these years of cultural decline and political anarchy, was the *Distichs* of Cato. Some of the verses of this collection were known as early as the beginning of the third century, although its first appearance as a collection under the name of Cato occurred in 375 A.D.¹ The book was already in use in the schools of Gaul in the fifth century,² and it was a widely used "first reader" in European schools of every century from the eighth to the seventeenth. The book consists of fifty-six short proverbs in prose and one hundred forty-four brief couplets. The prose proverbs may be illustrated by the following: "Pray to God," "Love thy parents," "Cherish those of kin to thee," and "Keep thy word." Some of the couplets run as follows:

If God a spirit is as poets sing,
With mind kept pure make thou thy offering.

Ne'er with thyself perversely disagree ;
Who's out with self in peace with none will be.

Thy poor friend's present from his scanty store,
Take gratefully as if the gift were more.

Strive not in wrath o'er something wrapped in doubt ;
Wrath clouds the mind and puts good sense to rout.³

Codification of the Roman civil law. — We have previously recognized the Roman genius for organizing civil government and for administering justice as among the great contributions which Rome made

¹ Chase, *The Distichs of Cato*, p. 1.

² Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*, p. 188.

³ Chase, Wayland Johnson, *The Distichs of Cato*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 7.

to Western civilization (see p. 106). In an earlier connection has also been noted the beginning of the great system of Roman civil law and it has been pointed out that the persons most largely responsible for the enlarging and maturing of that legal system were a professional class known as the jurists, who did not appear in the ordinary course of the law trial, but who were the real authorities on the law and who were consulted at need by those engaged in the practical conduct of the courts. During the period between Augustus Caesar and Diocletian, which is to say during the first three Christian centuries, the Roman law underwent steady development and universalization at the hands of the jurists. Among the great legal philosophers occur the names of Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, Modestinus, and Gaius, but in addition to these were hundreds of others who contributed by their writings to the creation of the civil law.

When the change to extreme absolution of administration occurred under Diocletian, the emperor made his will the ultimate source of law. Under the later Empire the written law was limited to the constitutions, or laws promulgated by the emperors, and just those works of classical jurists which were specifically designated. With the free development of the law thus interrupted it became more and more a necessity that some authoritative codification of the law should be made. Such a codification was undertaken at the order of Theodosius II and completed in 438 A.D. It went by the name of the "Theodosian Code" and became at once the law for

resembled closely the Theodosian Code. One such code was published in Italy by Theodoric in 500 A.D. under the name, "Edict of Theodoric." Still another, and vastly more influential than the former, was the code created by Alaric II, King of the Visigoths, at about the same time, and more generally known as the *Breviarium Alaricum*. The authority of this code extended over southern Gaul and Spain and was influential in transmitting the Roman law into medieval Europe.

However, the great work in which the Roman civil law was preserved and has been carried down into the modern world was the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, prepared at the command of Justinian, head of the eastern Empire from 527 to 565 A.D. This great work consisted of four parts, or phases. The first part, known as the *Code* was, like the Theodosian Code, composed of all the constitutions, or laws, passed by the emperors and so arranged as to omit all obsolete matter and so adapted as to eliminate inconsistencies and to suit current conditions. The second great work was one of compiling, digesting, and harmonizing the scattered volumes and sometimes conflicting opinions of the great jurists. When completed in 533, this great work, called the *Digest* or *Pandects*, was made the authoritative statement of the Roman civil law. A third work undertaken was the preparation of a short and simple textbook for students of law which was called the *Institutes*. A fourth part of the great compilation contained the new laws which had been promulgated between the publication of the code and the death of Justinian.

This was called the *Novels* (*Novellae constitutiones*).¹

With the codification of the Roman civil law the last part of the classical legacy was completed. We turn now to follow the fortunes of education and culture in Europe during centuries when the great days of classical antiquity were only a dim and uncertain legend and new, crude forces were struggling together in the creation of our modern Western World.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. ROBINSON, J. H., and BREASTED, J. H., *Outlines of European History*, Ginn and Co., 1914, or BOTSFORD, G., *History of the Ancient World*, Macmillan, 1911. — Appropriate chapters from these books will recall the more important social and political developments of the period treated in the foregoing chapter.

2. DILL, S., *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, Macmillan, 1905, and *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Roman Empire*, Macmillan, 1899. — Scholarly and readable treatments of the period. Book V of the latter should by all means be familiar to the student of education in the fourth and fifth Christian centuries.

3. HODGSON, G., *Primitive Christian Education*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906, Chs. VII–VIII. — Discusses at length the dilemma in which the Christians of the times found themselves in regard to the propriety of sending their children to the pagan schools.

4. HAARHOFF, T., *Schools of Gaul*, Oxford University Press, 1920. — A careful study from original sources of

¹ Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*, 135–164.

the administration and internal activities of what were probably the best schools of the fifth century in the Roman world.

5. TAYLOR, H. O., *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, Macmillan, 1911, Ch. IV. — An account of the preparation of educational materials for transmission to the Middle Ages.

6. COLE, P. R., *Later Roman Education*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, New York, 1909. — Contains translations of important educational materials of the period.

7. CHASE, W. J., *The Distichs of Cato*, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 7, Madison, 1922. — A historical sketch and translation of this famous schoolbook.

8. CHASE, W. J., *The Ars Minor of Donatus*, University of Wisconsin, Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 11, Madison, 1926. — A history of the use of this little book in the schools of medieval Europe, together with an English rendering of its content.

9. SEDGEFIELD, W. J., *King Alfred's Version of the Consolations of Boethius*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1900.

10. ABELSON, P., *The Seven Liberal Arts*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, New York, 1906. — A careful and thorough study containing sections on the subject matter of instruction in the late Roman period.

11. MOREY, W. C., *Outlines of Roman Law*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894, pp. 91-164. — Tells the story of the later development of the Roman civil law and of its codification at the command of Justinian.

CHAPTER IX

AN AGE OF SOCIAL CONFUSION AND INTELLECTUAL DEPRESSION (C. 500-C. 1050 A.D.)

FROM certain viewpoints the student of educational history might find little of importance to record for the period of five or six hundred years that followed the deposition of the last Roman Emperor by a Teutonic military chieftain. It was a time of severe intellectual depression. Society suffered from an undersupply of schools, and such as existed, when compared with those of either earlier or later centuries, were of low grade. The entire period produced hardly a single writer or thinker of the first rank. It made no contributions to science. And yet, it is highly important for the way in which and the extent to which it laid its hand upon the future development of Western education.

For still another reason the period is of great significance: it was a period of institutional beginnings which directly and indirectly have influenced our entire educational development from then to now. It was the time during which the population elements which compose Western society were jarring into place. It was the time during which it was determined that Western civilization should be Christian. It was the time during which the church was consolidating its position in Western institutional organ-

ization and taking that place which has made it loom so large in Western education. Finally it was the period when the social constitution of Europe, which continued more or less without a break into the nineteenth century and which continues powerfully to influence the organization of European schools, was finding its form.

Necessarily the fuller treatment of the social and political changes that were going on during this tempestuous era must be left to the general historian, but some account must be taken here of such of those developments as more specifically bear upon and condition education both during the period in question and in succeeding centuries.

In the treatment of the development of Western education up to this point, there has constantly been in mind the creation of that legacy which sooner or later was to come into the possession of the society of which we make a part. With the details of the adjustment between classical culture and classical society through the organized means of education this narrative has been relatively little concerned, because the social organization of classical antiquity was decidedly different from that of the current Western tradition, and for that reason there was not a great deal that could be transferred without substantial readjustment from the Graeco-Roman world to our own. Now, however, we have come to the beginning of our own times. The institutional beginnings of the so-called "Dark Ages" have persisted in their influence down to the present, and if we are to understand that present well, it behooves us to pick up

these early threads of institutional organization and follow them down through the intricate maze of our rapidly developing Western society. In order to understand the organization and the social rôle of education, we must have constantly in mind the social institutions which have conditioned education and which it has been the business of education to serve.

Europe the battleground of races and cultures. — For the five hundred years following the disappearance of the great Roman Empire, which had for an even longer time maintained peace and security over an area bounded on the north by the Rhine and the Danube and on the south by the Sahara Desert, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Arabian Desert and the Red Sea on the east, this entire area was the arena of tremendous struggle between great ethnical groupings and opposing modes of civilization. First came the Teutonic tribes to establish ephemeral kingdoms within the western borders of the Empire. The Visigoths in Spain and southern Gaul, the Vandals in northern Africa and the Mediterranean islands of Corsica and Sardinia, the Ostrogoths in Italy and Sicily, the Burgundians in the Valley of the Rhone, the Lombards in the plains of northern Italy — all these peoples who came out of the forests of the North settled down upon some fair portion of the old Empire. They adopted to a certain extent the civilization of Rome and adapted their cruder social institutions in some measure to the more highly developed laws and institutions which they found

in vogue; but the governments which they founded were destined to disappear under the attack of stronger forces and their very physical and mental traits to mingle indistinguishably in the population of which they formed a part.

The German tribe, alone of all those that pressed into the old area of the Empire, which was able to organize an enduring political organization was the Franks, who occupied in the sixth century the western and northern part of France and a considerable strip on the east bank of the Rhine. The Franks, unlike the other tribes, kept touch in the rear with the great body of barbarian peoples out of which they sprang, and out of that contact seemed to draw the strength and warlike vigor which enabled them to conquer, before the year 800, most of the territory of western Europe and to stand as the bulwark against the menacing invasion of Turanian peoples on the East and against the threat of Mohammedanism on the South.

This is not the place for any extended consideration of the Mohammedan religion and the highly developed Saracenic culture, to the latter of which Europe in the later Middle Ages was to find itself considerably indebted. However, it is necessary to recall to the reader the kaleidoscopic rise of Mohammedanism and its spread over northern Africa and southern Europe. Dating its beginning from the Hegira, or flight of the prophet and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622, the Moslems had within ten years brought all of Arabia under the sway of the new religion. Filled with all-con-

quering enthusiasm they rapidly overran and brought to subjection the Mesopotamian Valley and Persia, Syria, and Egypt. A little after the middle of that same century, the seventh, they were vainly attacking Constantinople and the remnants of the Roman Empire in the East. By the year 700 they had overrun the northern part of Africa to the Strait of Gibraltar, and within the next thirty years they had conquered the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, whence, pouring through the passes of the Pyrenees, they planted the banner of the crescent from the mouth of the Rhone to the Bay of Biscay on the West. It was at this point that occurred the Battle of Tours (732 A.D.) in which Charles the Hammer, leading the united Franks, defeated the invaders and turned them back. The Saracens continued to hold portions of southern Europe, particularly Spain, for many centuries, and the frontier which separated them from the Christian part of Europe was the almost continuous scene of aggressive hostilities.

In a later connection will be noted the development under the Carolingian dynasty of the Franks at about 800 A.D. of what seemed to be a great German empire and worthy successor to the might of Rome. The promise of orderly civil government for Europe, however, was not sustained by events, and Europe for the next two centuries was the scene of renewed and even more violent racial conflict. In this instance the principal aggressors were a warlike people which inhabited what is now Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These people, called the

Vikings, or Norsemen, were relatively untouched by the ways of civilization which had to some degree modified the Germanic tribes first coming into the Roman patrimony. They were bold sailors and, in their boats propelled by sails and oars, they harried during the ninth and tenth centuries all the coasts of Europe from the mouth of the Rhine to the Black Sea. The apparently limitless dash and daring of the Norsemen carried them across the sea to Iceland and Greenland, and, a well authenticated tradition has it, to the shores of the North American continent. It drove them eastward into Russia to form a government among the Slavs which eventually came into the stream of Western history as the Empire of Russia. It planted some of their tribes in the northeastern part of France, known from them as Normandy, and wrested a home for another tribe from the Anglo-Saxons in the northern and eastern part of England.

For two hundred years the Norsemen kept Europe in turmoil with constant threats against life and property. During that period they were one of the most active factors in the disorder and insecurity of European life. Their menace was largely removed when they were given for settlement the province of Normandy in France and allowed to remain undisturbed in the portions of England which they had overrun. Once having found an abiding place, the Norse blood and character became important and worthy constituents of French and English civilization.

To the tale of ethnic and cultural conflicts which has been briefly told, yet another chapter must

be indicated. On the eastern borders of Europe were continually felt over a great part of this period the attacks of a Turanian people, the Magyars, and of the Slavs. Both these peoples were for long the scourge of the Germanic inhabitants of eastern Europe and it was only in the tenth century that this menace was subdued.

The development of small-unit political organization. — With the downfall of Rome, the imperial form of political organization gave way at first to the efforts of the barbarians to establish monarchies over limited areas of the old Empire. The temporary success of some of these kingdoms has been noted, but in general the tendency was for power to be broken up into small units. The prestige of the king was not proof against the tendency of the German tribesman to follow his particular chieftain, and the breakdown of orderly means of communication made large-scale administration impossible. Accordingly, the kings were compelled to leave much authority in the hands of local leaders, among whom the bishops of the church were prominent from the first days of the barbarian occupation. Among the Franks, the custom of dividing up the kingdom among the sons, or heirs, of a deceased king was an additional factor tending to create small units of government, and this custom was enough to counteract the genius for conquest and political organization which was exhibited alone among the Franks of all the Germanic tribes.

With the exception of the great Frankish empire which was organized by the strong Carolingian line

from Charles Martel (714-741) to Charlemagne (768-814), and which dissolved upon the latter's death, no strong government over a large area was developed in western Europe during the period which we are considering. Nominal kings were in reality without control over powerful dukes and counts, and many a so-called kingdom was nothing more than a congeries of localities which gave their real support to the local big man, whether bishop, archbishop, abbot, duke, count, or margrave. The violence and insecurity of the times led men to give their loyalty in the quarter from which they might look for protection, and this, in the nature of the situation, would lie near at hand.

The culmination of a tendency to local organization of government came, after the disappearance of the Carolingian empire, in the full development of the feudal system. As a result of the exceptional insecurity of these times, when Christian Europe was beset on all sides by determined aggressive foes, and when there were no large-scale governments in existence to provide protection, men joined together as best they could to secure some means of immunity against the ever-present threat of danger. The economic life was organized with reference to the support of fighting men, organized about a local leader in defense of a local stronghold.

The feudal system of social organization. — Feudalism, however, involves so much more than a centrifugal tendency of political organization and is so highly important for understanding the whole subsequent development of European life and edu-

cation, that it seems worth while at this point to call to mind its more important characteristics. Historians unite in ascribing one phase of its dual origin to the Roman system of organizing large estates in which the workers were not actually slaves, subject to sale and to the power of the owner even to life and death, but rather workers permanently attached to the land and in turn possessing certain personal immunities and rights. The other line of development of feudalism was through the German custom of the *comitatus*, or the voluntary joining together of comrades under a military chieftain. When the soldiers of such a chieftain had lands with their complement of servile workers assigned for their support, the feudal system of land tenure in return for military service was fully realized. The theoretical lower limit of land division was the area required for the support of a fighting man. The man who was given such a grant, or fief, was called a vassal, and the man from whom he received the grant was called the lord. There were, to be sure, other types of fiefs besides land, but this was by far the most important. Great magnates or local leaders in those disordered times had no money and no way of getting money to pay for soldiers, but they had the control of vast areas of land and they made the land support their fighting force. In return for this use of land, which constituted his economic support, the vassal vowed fealty and military service to his lord. As long as he remained faithful to his obligations, the vassal was secure in his tenure and possessed the right of passing on his fief to his heirs.

The military men who enjoyed the use of the land and were supported by it were called the nobility. The serfs and the villeins who did the work on the land were social nobodies. They passed into the possession of a new lord along with plows and cattle. Outside of a bare subsistence, the fruits of their toil were appropriated by the lord, their lives were empty and hard, and spent almost entirely in the daily drudgery of the home manor. The noble vassals, on the other hand, moved about in attending the court of their lord and in following him in his campaigns. The manor house developed a social life in the companionship among those of equal social rank in the surrounding country. Times of peace had their recreations of mock fighting and hunting and the castles became centers of a society with its own accomplishments and ways of spending leisure time.

Owing to the fact that the church, as we shall see later, had become extremely wealthy in land, the "big executives" of the church became important members of feudal society. The bishop who had the disposal of land became thereby a feudal lord with his military vassals. Probably he had been a noble and reared in the fighting tradition, and many a bishop of that time found it difficult to put off the military habits of a lifetime. In deference to the tradition that it was unseemly for a churchman to shed blood, he would eschew the use of a sword, but not uncommonly he would mount his warhorse armed with a deadly smashing instrument, the mace, and lead his companions at arms into the thick of the

fight. Even without its wealth in land, which necessitated an intrinsic connection with the feudal political system, the church in the Middle Ages would have had tremendous power, but as things were the church was inextricably interwoven in all the network of feudal politics. Every bishop, archbishop, and abbot was a big man by reason both of his ecclesiastical powers and of his control of fighting units. Accordingly, in feudal society, there was, besides the nobility or fighting class, the clergy. Together they constituted the privileged classes, among whom developed a strict bond of caste.

Theoretically, feudalism was a hierarchy in which the great nobles held from the kings, lesser nobles from the greater nobles, and so on down to the ordinary military vassal who was lord over a single manor. If this theory had held in practice, the king would have been able to secure the support of the entire military force of his kingdom; but as a matter of fact the feudal system was an indescribable jumble of obligations and counter-obligations. Its tendency was to divide society into small groupings and to localize organization. The vassal was obligated to attend the court of his immediate lord and upon him he depended for justice, while it was the lord's business to keep order among his vassals. As a result the large-pattern form of administration was largely forgotten in western Europe during the ninth and the tenth centuries. Law, outside of the king's court, became severely local and practical and the earlier tradition of legal codes, many of which had been based upon Roman civil law, was largely

lost. Local barons operated in a high-handed way against common justice, and war — war between kings, between great feudal vassals and their kings, between great lords fighting one another, and even neighborhood warfare between unimportant feudal magnates — became the order of the day.

A rural economy. — The accompaniments of the breakdown of orderly government were a notable decrease of commerce upon the rivers and highways, the cutting off of communication, and the severe limitation of travel. With the decay of commerce, bustling cities of Roman times became mere villages and prosperous villages reverted to agricultural use. European life became rural. The feudal manor became the unit not only of political organization, but of economic life as well. Practically everything that was used upon the manor was produced upon it. If the practice of important trades was not represented there, the work had to be performed by such unspecialized labor as was available. What men could not raise, or make, generally speaking, they did without.

The cultural effects of the political disintegration. — It is, of course, to be remembered that the conditions of European society which have just been described began in the eleventh century to correct themselves. But it is the very fact that corrective agencies begin to develop which makes a new historical era out of the period following about the year 1050. Meanwhile it is the political, social, and economic conditions of the six hundred years after the

fall of Rome which give character to the educational era which we are considering.

Outside of those who were engaged in the ministrations of the church, which we shall see later on to be the only educational agency of the times, men had no use for literary arts and no opportunity to practice them. The business of the nobility was fighting. The ordinary noble could not read nor write and there were no books in the castle for him to read in case he should have had the desire. There was no extensive civil administrative unit which called for the development of an educated civil service. The courts were local and made use, not of codes or written law, but of local custom and horse sense in the settlement of such disputes as came before them. Where a letter had to be written, or an important paper drawn up, or some state record to be kept in exact permanency, some handy ecclesiastic, probably a member of the clergy attached to court or manor house, could be depended on to perform the service. If the members of the nobility did not find the ability to read or write essential in the performance of their normal duties, still less did they find it a handicap in their leisure pursuits. Not yet had the crude warriors of Christendom developed the knightly code of chivalry nor learned to sing tuneful lays in praise of love and beauty. Their pleasures were of the hunt, the jousting lists, and the table. Not yet had the situation developed which called for the elaborate process of chivalric education characteristic of the period after 1050.

So complete was the monopoly of learning among

the members of the clergy in those times that it was considered sufficient proof of honesty for a man who claimed to be a "clerk" and asked the benefit of trial by clergy, to demonstrate his ability to read and write. Let us turn now to consider the circumstances and conditions which made the church during these same centuries the mother of schools and the preserver, if only at a low level of vitality, of the tradition of learning.

The development of the organization of the church.

— The early communities of Christians were very informally organized, but even as early as the time of St. Paul the presbyters, or elders, and the bishops, or overseers, had special guidance over the congregations. By the second century, there had developed in some parts of the Christian world the custom of having a single bishop who stood at the head of a single congregation, or of the congregations of a single city. This custom gained rapidly in popularity and soon became universal. The bishops were regarded as representing the apostolic succession, and during the great controversies regarding the true faith (see p. 180) it was they who took the lead in the determination of doctrinal matters. As an urban congregation developed missions in the rural area surrounding the city, the new churches recognized the authority of the bishop of the mother church. The influence of a bishop was in relation to the importance of his city and naturally the bishops of the great capitals of the Roman world were much looked up to. By the beginning of the third century, the distinction between the clergy and the

laity was clearly recognized. The bishop was the highest church official, and under him were presbyters, who assisted in the sacraments and preached, deacons, who looked after the poor, also acolytes, exorcists, readers, and janitors.

The growth in the power of the bishops was rapid after Christianity was adopted as the official religion. The clergy inherited the exemptions of the pagan hierarchy, thus being freed from the burdens of taxation and military service. By reason of legal changes made in its favor, the church was given the right to receive bequests and to own land. It soon became immensely wealthy and the administration of all its property was in the hands of the bishops.

The church as a judicial institution. — In the early centuries of the history of the church, there had developed a tendency for the Christians to take their disputes to the bishop for adjustment, owing to their unwillingness to take the pagan oath which was compulsory in the civil trial. The informal practice which thus had developed great proportions within the church was recognized by the early Christian emperors. By forbidding appeals to the civil courts in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes and making binding the decision of the bishop in a civil suit, once both parties had agreed to his arbitration, the judicial powers of the church were greatly enlarged. Even a limited criminal jurisdiction was given the clergy, covering lighter offenses committed by any member of the church hierarchy. The church became still more influential in its judicial capacity when, in the fifth century, the carrying out of the

laws against the old pagan worship was entrusted to it. The wide range of jurisdiction which the church courts possessed made necessary the preparation of an orderly code of law, in building up which the church naturally followed very closely the rules and precedents of the Roman civil law.

As the power of the Empire dissolved in the fifth century, the Roman civil administration disappeared in many localities and the bishops were left as the sole representatives of law and order and organized government. During the succeeding centuries of political confusion the church became an important and highly favored institution of law and justice. Its representative was almost universally present at those high points of human existence, such as birth, marriage, and death, which have great significance from the standpoint of the distribution of property. Birth and death are important as related to inheritance and legacy, and marriage also represents the consummation of new property relationships. Accordingly, the church became during the early Middle Ages an important judicial agent in matters involving property. In some sense, too, the oath was regarded as a religious ceremony, and for that reason the agents of the church were likely to be present in transactions involving sworn testimony.

In comparison with the rough and ready justice dispensed in the feudal courts, the law of the church was impartial, elevated, and based on sound legal principles. Furthermore, it was relatively humane as compared with the harsh penalties of the judicial

practices inherited in large part from barbarian antiquity. Accordingly, the church enjoyed throughout the period which we are considering, not only the right to determine all causes dealing with its internal administration, but it also had the right to try any member of the clergy, however exalted or however humble, in cases of misdemeanor or crime and to render justice in a wide range of strictly civil causes. As we shall see later on, the judicial powers of the church constituted one of the important sources of conflict between the church and the growing power of the kingship in the eleventh century and thereafter.

The church becomes the great superstate of Christendom. — With the disappearance of the power of Rome in the West, the bishops of Rome found themselves in a position of great prestige. The church of that city drew power and influence from the fact of its apostolic origin and also from the fact of its location in the capital city of the old Empire. In the course of time the bishop of Rome came to be regarded as the head of Western Christendom and came to be called the Pope. In the sixth and seventh centuries the church had been the recipient of great gifts of land in Italy which were administered by the popes, and in the eighth century the papacy came to be recognized as the actual sovereign of a considerable strip of territory which extended entirely across Italy.

If the popes of Rome thus consolidated their position in the territory of the old Empire, they did much more to develop the power of the church through

missionary enterprises, which drew under the influence of the hierarchy the German tribes from the North. These tribes, which were destined to become the nations of Europe, were converted to Christianity by missionaries who operated under the popes' sanction. The extent of the church's influence was thus greatly expanded, and the unity of Western Christendom under the papacy was gradually achieved.

Hardly less important than these missionary efforts for the establishment of a strongly centralized church government was the truly tremendous activity of the age in the founding of monasteries. These institutions were directly responsible to the popes and owed their allegiance and fealty to the head of the church rather than to some less exalted church official.

For the six hundred years following the disappearance of the Roman Empire in the West the church was the only large-pattern system of administration which was able to maintain a continuous existence in Europe. The church hierarchy was, in effect, a superstate, international in its scope and jurisdiction. At its head was the pope, who exercised the judicial, appointive, and legislative functions of an absolute monarch. The whole of Christendom was subdivided into administrative districts, which were administered by archbishops and bishops under powers delegated by the pope, while in each parish a priest presided over the sacraments of the church. Thickly dotted over Europe were monasteries and nunneries which were directly responsible to the head of the church.

Why the church fostered education. — When one considers the nature and extent of the business which the church was carrying on during these centuries of disorder which we are considering, it is easy enough to understand why it, as an institution, fostered education. The very necessities of administration called for educated men to keep the records of appointments, receipts and disbursements, and judgments rendered in the church courts. There must have been a voluminous correspondence among the officials of this great system. Furthermore, the extensive judicial functions of the church called for a knowledge of precedent and of the rules of procedure.

Besides the practical necessity of providing itself with trained officials, still an additional factor operated to make the church the mother of learning. It was an institution of a book — an institution which possessed a tradition, a ritual, and a body of sacred literature which was too extensive for verbal transmission. Religion lived on the ability to read the Bible and the forms of worship. Even the parish priest was under the necessity of being able to read if he were to be competent to perform the everyday duties of his position, such as saying the mass and reading the marriage and burial forms.

The situation described above was one which inevitably led to the church's taking over responsibility for education. Just as the bishops in Roman and Gallic cities took over the care of the poor or the administration of the water supply after the municipal governments disappeared in the years following

the barbarian invasions, just so the bishops found themselves carrying on the schools which likewise had been enterprises under municipal control. And in new lands which had never known the existence of schools, the bishops and the archbishops found themselves under the necessity of providing priests to man the parish churches and to care for the religious needs of the people. The bishop was like a general who had to provide means of training for the under-officers who were essential to the discipline and maintenance of his army. Accordingly, from 500 to 1100, the schools maintained by the bishops constituted one of the two great sources of educational supply in Europe.

The episcopal, or cathedral, school. — The church of the bishop was called a cathedral. It was likely to be larger and finer than the parish churches and, as the seat of the church administration of the diocese, there were provided in connection with it accommodations for the canons and other officials who assisted in the services of the church and in the business of the diocese. The services held in the cathedral were more elaborate than those of the country parish church and involved the use of trained choirs for the singing and responses. The school was organized with reference to the needs of the cathedral and of diocesan administration. Its main purpose was to train the future priests and officials for their duties. As a further objective the system of instruction prepared boys to sing in the choir.

The conduct of the cathedral school was in the hands of an official called the *scholasticus*, while

directly under him was the *cantor*, whose business it was to train the choir, conduct the singing in the cathedral services, select the passages to be used in worship, and to arrange the church calendar. Although there were some exceptions to be found, the cathedral school devoted itself consciously and narrowly to the practical objective of preparing youths for ecclesiastical service, and incidentally to providing trained choir boys who could sing the hymns and the responses for the cathedral worship. These two phases of the work of the cathedral school naturally fell apart, the latter being clearly a more elementary type of instruction than the former. The work of the upper school was centered about the subject of grammar, which means, in short, that it was devoted largely to language study. The lower school apparently aimed only at the mastery of reading the Latin of the church service without any attempt at translation or grammatical study. We shall want to go into some further detail with reference to the studies and methods of the cathedral school, but that may be postponed until we have noted the nature of a second source of educational supply for the period which we are studying, namely, the monastic schools. The curriculum of the two types of school was practically identical and may be treated as a unit.

The rise of monasticism. — In an earlier connection (see p. 191) has been noted the cleavage which developed in the Christian community in the third and fourth centuries regarding the complete and perfect way of the Christian life. To some it appeared

that the ordinary existence of an individual in his family and business relationships and in the enjoyment of the good things of life was a compromise with the ideal of Christian devotion. Constant intercourse with the world was seen as hindering the contemplation of things divine. Accordingly a movement developed within the church which led to the voluntary exile of its most devoted and austere members from their families, their businesses, and the temptations of city life. They went into the deserts and mountains to live lives of self-denial, self-punishment, and prayer. In its early stages this ascetic movement was unorganized and for the most part its devotees lived as hermits or in casual community relationships. However, by the fifth century, the leaders of the ascetic tendency in the Latin church had seen that some form of community existence was preferable to the hermit life, and rules began to be formulated which would tend to bring order and efficiency into such groups of ascetics.

The Rule of St. Benedict. — The great turning point in Western asceticism was the foundation by St. Benedict of Nursia of the monastery of Monte Cassino in 529 and the promulgation of the celebrated Benedictine Rule. This Rule seems to have been exceptionally suitable both to the climatic and economic conditions of the West and to the necessities of Western character. Its reception was rapid and its spread phenomenal, until practically all the monastic communities of the West had adopted it.

The Rule of St. Benedict prescribed an orderly and humane program of life and worship for the

monks. In great detail it made provisions regarding the administration of the monastery, including the selection of officials, the reception of new monks, the hours of prayer, the daily diet, the time to be devoted to manual labor and to reading, and a great many other matters besides. Of particular interest is the regulation regarding reading. At mealtimes, the brothers were to eat in silence and listen to a monk who read to them. The reader was selected for an entire week and began his duties on Sunday. Only such readers were to be chosen as would edify their hearers. The reading was to be conducted without the interruption of questions or remarks from the hearers, unless the prior might wish "to say something, briefly, for the purpose of edifying."

The Rule, after stating that idleness was the enemy of the soul, prescribed that the brothers should at fixed times be engaged in manual labor and, again, in sacred reading. In the summer season the monks were to busy themselves with their prescribed labors from the "first to the fourth" hours, after which they were given two free hours for reading. After the noon meal they were free to rest or read until two o'clock, when there was a second meal to be followed by work at "what was to be done" until Vespers. In the winter season, the hours were somewhat changed, but the same provision for free reading time was made. In the Lenten season, all were "to receive separate books from the library," which were to be read entirely through in order. One or two elders were to be appointed whose business it was to go around the monastery during the

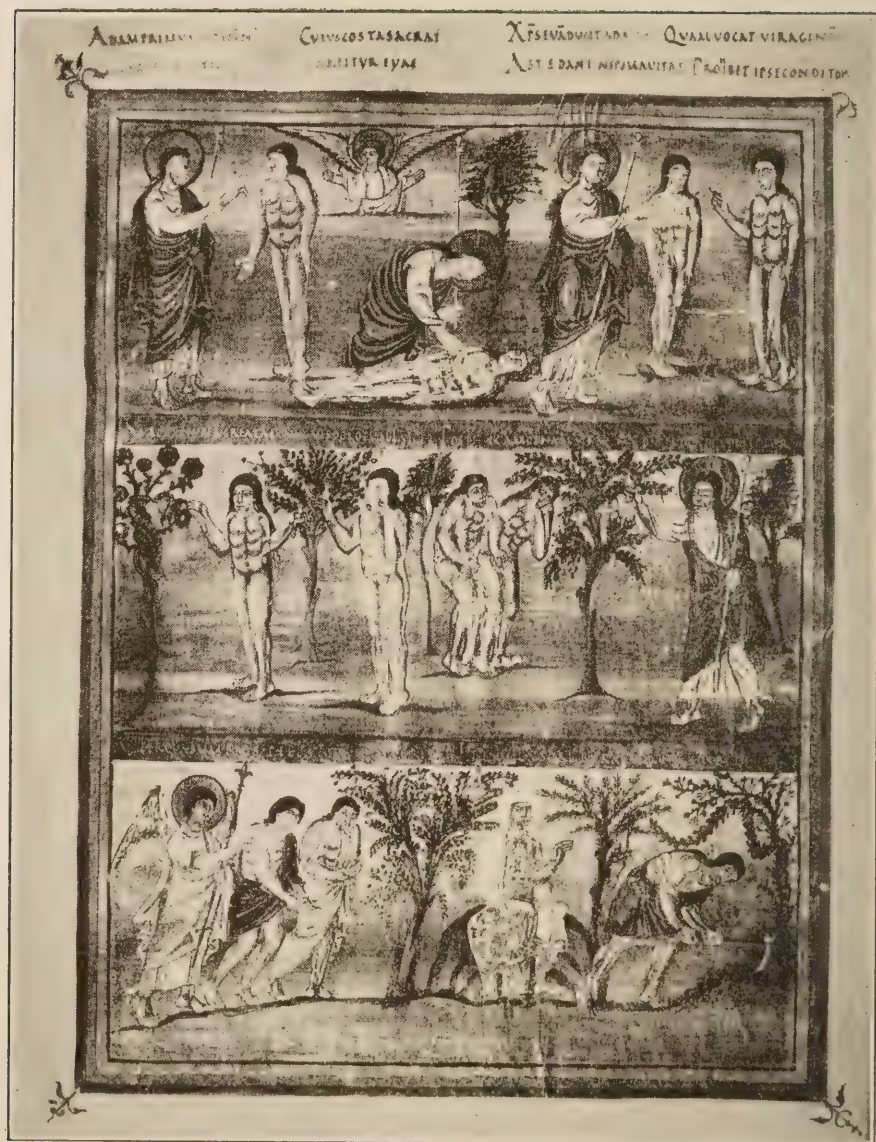


Fig. 25. — A page of miniatures from a manuscript Bible made for Charles the Bald in the ninth century by the monks of the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours. The pictures represent the story of Adam and Eve. Original in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

Pensavit enim quod
 quibz et moribus sepi
 immodulorum mentis
 et celosque longinquos
 abhorrere mihi solebat
 quam ad nos peruenire
 dicitur quia dicitur
 mulas thesauri. Item
 cum dicitur. Qui est
 diuinitas est non est
 quare per se posuit in se
 superuenient. Et sic
 rationem et in modum
 tenet. Et cum habet
 diuinitatem

quidē

[illegible][illegible]

Fig. 26. — First part of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles in the Bible of Charles the Bald. Original in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

reading period to see that no troublesome brother might be found who was open to idleness and trifling and not intent on his reading, "being not only of no use to himself, but stirring up others." On Sunday all were to engage in reading except those who had been assigned to the necessary tasks of the monastery. If anyone were found "so negligent and lazy" that he would not or could not read, some task was to be imposed on him that he could do, so that he would not be idle.

The monasteries as centers of learning.—Although nothing was said in the Benedictine Rule about the establishment of a *scriptorium*, or room where the copying and illuminating of manuscripts was carried on, such a room and such occupation early became an established part of the monastic regime. The prescription of reading in the Rule made necessary the preparation of books and this could be done better in the monastery than anywhere else. Indeed, it had to be done there, if done at all. Cassiodorus (see p. 215) stressed the copying of manuscripts in the monastery which he founded at Vivarium in 540, and the great tradition of Irish monasticism exhibited from the fifth to the eighth centuries the greatest devotion to learning and brought the copying and illumination of manuscripts to a high state of accuracy and artistic skill. In the course of time the monasteries which were under the Rule of St. Benedict adopted the practice of preparing books as a part of the monastic labor.

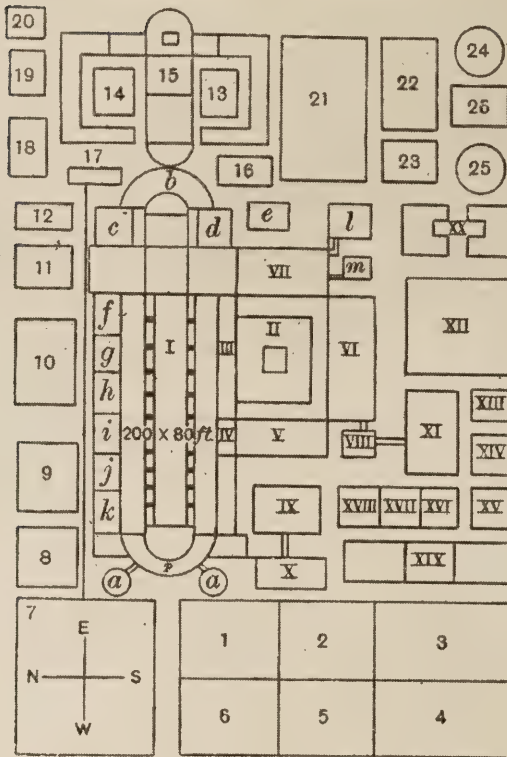
The stress which was laid upon reading in the monasteries was bound to lead to provision for a

school. Boys at a tender age were frequently dedicated to the monastic life by their parents and therefore required instruction. Nor is it to be expected that every adult who took the vows in that unlettered age would possess the ability to read. Naturally enough, then, the monastery developed a school as a part of its administration. It seems also to have developed in an early time that parents who lived in the neighborhood of a monastery took advantage of the opportunity of sending their sons to the monastic school even if they had no intention of devoting them to the monastic life. By the latter part of the period which we are considering the disadvantages of having the boys who were to follow the monastic rule go to school with those who were not became evident, as the discipline of the former tended to relax through the contact. The result was the establishment in some monasteries of separate schools for the *oblats* (the dedicated), or *interni*, and the *externi*. However, outside of the difference of the discipline, the schooling of the two groups was the same.

What has been said of the organization of institutions in which men might practice the austerities of a life of complete religious devotion is applicable to ascetic institutions for women. Nunneries were established according to modifications of the rule as applied to men, and they exhibited the same solicitude for study and education as did the monasteries.

If the monasteries were important for the history of education because they maintained libraries and

THE PLAN OF THE ABBEY



c. 430 × 300 ft.

EXPLANATIONS

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| I Abbey Church | VI Refectory | 6 Servants' house |
| a Campanill | VII Living-room and dormitory | 7 ? |
| b Vestibule | VIII Kitchen | 8 Kitchen for noble guests |
| c Library | IX Inn for pilgrims | 9 Inn for noble guests |
| d Sacristy | X Bakery and brewery | 10 Outer school |
| e Building for preparation of host | XI Artisan's workshop | 11 Abbot's Hall |
| f Refectory | XII Crushing and hand mills | 12 Servants' house |
| g Guest chamber | XIII Malt-house | 13 Inner school |
| h Magister's study | XIV Threshing-floor | 14 Hospital |
| i Magister's bedroom | XV Wood-turners' shop | 15 Church |
| k Porter's rooms | XVI Coopers' shop | 16 Students' kitchen |
| l Necessarium | XVII Stable | 17 Hospital kitchen |
| m Bath-room and washhouse | XVIII Barn | 18 Building for blood-letting |
| p Porch for pilgrims and servants | 1 Sheep stalls | 19 Doctor's house |
| II Cloister Court | 2 Goats' stalls | 20 Herb-garden |
| III Chapter-house | 3 Cowshed | 21 Churchyard and orchard |
| IV Ante-room | 4 Breeding stud | 22 Kitchen garden |
| V Cellar and pantry | 5 Pigsties | 23 Gardener's house |
| | | 24 Goose-pen |
| | | 25 Hen-pen |
| | | 26 Poultry-keeper's house |

Fig. 27. — Ground plan of the Abbey of St. Gall as it was projected by Abbot Gozbert in the ninth century. It was never completed according to this plan, but the full project illustrates the multifarious life of a medieval monastery. The plan and the key are taken from Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall*, Cambridge University Press, 1926.

schools and made books, they were further significant as furnishing in a time of almost universal violence a retreat for men of meditative and intellectual tastes. The thinkers, the dreamers, the artists of that troubled age found within the walls of the monastery and in its spirit of rest and calm the only environment where their gifts might find expression. The monasteries were likewise the nurseries of a wide range of practical skills and trades, such as leather working, weaving, wood carving, glaziery, and sculpture, which in the course of time emerged from the monastic precincts into the wider world of medieval industry. The intelligently tilled farms of many monasteries may be thought of as the agricultural demonstration plots of the early Middle Ages.

The level of learning in the early Middle Ages. — It has long been a matter of controversy as to the level reached in the literary and educational work of the monasteries and the cathedral schools of the early Middle Ages. In some quarters there has been a tendency to rate their attainments very highly, and in other quarters to consider them as almost beneath notice. The true estimate would seem to be somewhere between the two extremes of uncritical laudation and equally unsympathetic condemnation. Regarded from the viewpoint of the intellectual heights reached by classical antiquity in its flowering period or by the eighteenth or nineteenth century, the outlook and achievements of the early medieval monks and canons are to be regarded as extremely limited, but considered in relationship to their times

these same men represented the intellectual class of Europe and played an important rôle in keeping alive the tradition of learning until a period when more favorable circumstances would again favor greater vitality in the intellectual life.

It is beyond all question that the intellectual attainments of the period that we are considering — that is, from the sixth to the eleventh centuries — were very low indeed. We have already seen (see p. 203 and pp. 209 ff.) how by the fifth century the intellectual class had largely lost touch with the great minds of the past and were dependent upon stale abstracts of the great works of science, philosophy, rhetoric, and mathematics for their study and for school use. Add to this the fact of universal violence and insecurity which preyed upon Europe during the time in question and we can appreciate the unfavorable circumstances in which learning found itself. The main intellectual interest of the times centered about religion and the main reason for having any schools at all was to prepare men for the service of the church. With this practical objective dominating, it is small wonder that the books of greatest interest were the writings of the Church Fathers.

Alcuin (735–804), one of the great scholars of his time, has given us a catalogue of the books which were to be found in the library of the Cathedral of York while he was a student and teacher there. The list contains mention of the works of Aristotle, Pliny, Cicero, Virgil, Statius, and Lucan, but by far the greater number of the authors are the well-known

Church Fathers, such as Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Pope Gregory the Great, or the textbook compilers of the late Roman period. The Irish monks for centuries kept alive and flourishing an intellectual tradition in which a knowledge of Greek and of Greek writers was prominent, and Theodore of Tarsus, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 669, introduced the study of Greek into England. The Irish monks were active missionaries to what was in the seventh and eighth centuries the barbarian wilderness of northern Europe and founded numerous monasteries in which they planted the seeds of their own interest in learning.

There were libraries in Paris (St. Germain des Prés), Tours, Chartres, Cambrai, Douai, Valenciennes, Lille, Corbie, St. Ouen, Fontenelle, Corvei, Fulda, Hirschau, Reichenau, St. Gallen, Regensburg, and Salzburg. It is not to be denied, however, that these collections contained especially writings of the Church Fathers, law books, and liturgical works, and that the industry of the copyist was applied mainly on these, but, on the other hand, many classics were preserved, were frequently copied, and were made accessible.¹

The age, however, was one in which the scientific spirit lay almost completely dormant. There was no interest in the critical observation of nature. A belief in spirits and demons and miraculous occurrences was universal — even among those who were really the most learned of their day. The whole elaborate structure of metaphysical doctrine and historical revelation which constituted the beliefs

¹ "Mittelalterliches Schulwesen," in Schmid, *Encyklopaedie des Erziehungs-und Unterrichtswesens*.

of the church was accepted without interpretation or criticism as so much absolute fact. The practice



Fig. 28. — A tenth century manuscript of one of the plays of Terence. Original in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

of religion became objectified in terms of penances and punishments, the saying of prayers, the making of signs, and performance of the ritual of the church.

The fear of a very material hell and the hope of an equally material heaven dominated the lives of even the choicest saints, and during this period the intermediate stage of purgatory came to be posited as the abiding place of not quite perfect souls after their death, who must await the prayers and the ministrations of the church before they could secure release and entrance into the joy of heaven. It was during these centuries also that the mass was developed in all its pictorial and dramatic richness to be the central feature in the public act of worship. For the illiterate folks of the times the passion and death of Christ were thus made plain in the church service so that even those who could not understand a word of the Latin ritual could bow their heads and worship in presence of the great sacrifice of Jesus for a sinful world.

Under such circumstances and in such an environment it is little to be wondered at that even the greatest minds of the age should be hampered and limited in their development. Probably one of the most original geniuses of the entire period that we are considering was the English monk Bede (673-735), who lived during the time preceding the Danish invasions when Ireland and England presented the highest state of Western learning. During his entire life he was a teacher, a student, and an author, under the best circumstances that could have been available in Europe during a period of five hundred years. He had labored in every part of the intellectual field of his times. He was the author of *An Ecclesiastical History of England*, he wrote numerous biographies

of English abbots, he published allegorical interpretations of almost all the books of the Bible, he wrote a book on the computation of church holy days which came into very general use, he produced a work in arithmetic, and even a number of treatises in natural philosophy. His *Ecclesiastical History of England* is a valuable source of our knowledge of the early history of the Anglo-Saxons and he has lived in modern fame chiefly by reason of it. As for the rest of his work in science, in biblical criticism, in philosophy, it was limited by the narrowness of his range of authorities and the intellectual prepossessions which his age forced upon him. No one can deny that for his time he was a great figure or that he did noble service in the maintenance of a tradition of learning. It is perhaps beside the point to expect that his works should serve equally well in our own generation.

The curriculum of the schools. — It is more difficult to describe the curriculum of the schools for the period from the sixth to the eleventh centuries than for any other period of Western education. In the first place the conditions of learning were very uneven during this time in different places and in different centuries. A statement that would be true of England in the eighth century would be far from accurate with respect to the Kingdom of the Franks, and what could be said of England then would not hold for England of the century following. A further difficulty arises from the fact that schools were not classified or standardized and each was pretty much a rule to itself. Much depended, for

example, on the educational zeal of a bishop or an abbot if the school under his control was to be efficient or inefficient. Still a third factor of difficulty lies in the wide variety of resources, in terms of books and teachers, in the various schools. If St. Gall in the eleventh century fostered the study of the classics, no generalization can be made from that fact as to the study of the classics in any other particular monastery or cathedral.

Certainly so much as this can be said, that the main objective of the schools was to prepare youths for such careers in church and state as the ability to read Latin and write a Latin letter opened up to them. The main stress was laid upon getting hold of Latin as an instrument. To that end the pupils were taught grammar and composition, which latter often ran into the form of very commonplace verse forms. They studied Donatus or some other book for grammar and probably read some primer, such as the *Distichs* of Cato, and excerpts from the Bible and books of prayer. There is evidence that Virgil was read and other Latin poets as well. Alcuin (735-804) was thoroughly familiar with Virgil, whom he had studied in the cathedral school at York, and, as a youth, had preferred above the Latin psalms. In his old age, however, he forbade the reading of Virgil to his own students and bitterly reproached one of them who secretly had been regaling himself with this forbidden fruit. Alcuin also had occasion in a letter to an archbishop friend of his to reprove him for his devotion to Virgil.¹ It

¹ See West, *Alcuin*, 84-85.

is also known that the classics were zealously studied in the monastic school at St. Gall in the eleventh century and frequent references show that the great Latin poets were not unknown in other schools. The great prose writers were less widely read, preference being shown for such writers as Orosius, Gregory the Great, and other writers from among the Church Fathers. It can be said also with considerable certainty that but seldom did the instruction in the schools extend to include the study of theology and canon law. The work in arithmetic was little stressed, undoubtedly held back by the difficulties of computation with the Roman numerals. The principal objective of the instruction in numbers seems to have been the determination of the date of Easter and the other church holy days, which was accomplished by means of an elaborate process known as the *computus*. The *computus* involved both arithmetical calculation and astronomical knowledge.

One's estimate of the highest intellectual attainments of the period would be placed too low, however, if one should fail to note that outstanding figures like the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and Johannes Scotus Erigena went far beyond this minimum of school instruction, as did many other gifted men with a taste for study and authorship. The cathedral and monastic schools with their teachers and their libraries gave opportunity for such students to pass on beyond the attainments of the ordinary schoolboy and to range rather freely over the literary remains of antiquity.

The chief prepossession of the scholar of that age was theology, which he studied largely through reading the Bible and consulting the Church Fathers. Metaphysical speculation was decidedly hindered through the almost complete loss during this time of the major works of Aristotle and the other great system makers of the classical period. Preparation for the higher administrative offices and the judicial service of the church probably proceeded on a basis of ordinary school education supplemented by apprentice training in the service itself.

The state of scientific knowledge. — While the main interest of the student and scholar of this period was in literary and theological exercises, it is not to be forgotten that the authorities available invited some to activity in the fields of science and mathematics. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, the subjects of the quadrivium, were included in the noted textbooks on the Seven Liberal Arts (see pp. 209 ff.), and we may think of those works as establishing the level of attainment in science and mathematics for the period which we are considering. Boethius was the great authority on arithmetic and for him arithmetic dealt mainly with the properties and the theory of numbers. The Venerable Bede (see p. 255), Alcuin (see p. 264), Rabanus Maurus (c. 776–856), and other men of the time wrote books on arithmetic in which the known authorities were worked over and adapted, principally with reference to processes of calculating the ecclesiastical calendar. In this connection a certain knowledge of astronomy was necessary as well, for which the best source of

information was the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (c. 570–636), an encyclopedic compilation which gave



Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 29. — Map of the world as given in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (c. 570–636). Mare oceanum = the ocean surrounding the land. Oriens = East. Sem = Shem, Cham = Ham, Jafet = Japheth, the three sons of Noah. Sep. = septentrio, north. Meri = meridies, south. Lanaia fluvius = Lanaia River, now called the Don River. Nilus flu = Nile River. Meotis palus = Meotian swamp, now the Sea of Azov. Mare magnum = Mediterranean Sea. Occidens = west.

a large proportion of its space to scientific facts and principles. In this work the treatment of astronomy consisted of a list of definitions — like those of math-

ematical geography — of a list of mere names of stars, and of some speculations on the influence of the heavenly bodies upon the fate of mankind, which under the name of astrology had come to be one of the main branches of astronomical science.

The geometry of the period was extremely limited. We have already noted (see p. 211) the very slight attention given to geometry proper in the work of Martianus Capella and the substitution of geography for the materials of that science as it had been known in classical antiquity. The work of Boethius on geometry was lost to Europe until it was rediscovered by Gerbert (c. 950–1003) in the tenth century, and even that contained but a very slight part of geometrical science as organized by Euclid in his *Elements*. The *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, a Roman scientific writer of the first Christian century, was a prolific source of geographical information.

For a knowledge of music, the remaining subject of the quadrivium, the chief writer upon whom the students of the early Middle Ages could draw, was Boethius, whose work *De Musica* in five books was the highest authority during many centuries.

In general, we may say of the scientific knowledge of the times that it was imitative and adaptive and that at no time did it rise higher than the very elementary works of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries through which it was presented.

The awakening of a civil interest in education. — Brief reference has been made (see p. 229) to the development of an extensive and unified Frankish Kingdom through the statesmanship of the Carolin-

gian kings in the eighth century. The presence of a united kingdom covering middle Europe was the first large-pattern civil government which had developed in the West following the fall of Rome, and although it was destined to fall apart in the ninth century and Europe was to go through another period of invasion and pillage at the hands of the Norsemen, the event is of some significance for education. After Charlemagne late in the eighth century had built up an extensive kingdom through conquests and had established an administrative system which enabled him to control it, he came to feel a certain responsibility for education. He was given to bringing bishops and abbots, even popes, to order and it seemed but natural that he should recall his higher church officials to their duty of providing schools. The fact that much of his newly added territory to the North was occupied by newly-converted heathens, who had to be taught the forms of the Christian religion and for whom church ministration had to be provided, was an added reason for Charlemagne's solicitude concerning education. He had organized synods in which the bishops had been compelled to instruct the priests in the performance of their duties, and it was evident to him that the unification and Christianization of his empire were dependent upon a stimulation of activity with respect to teaching.

In a famous capitulary issued some time between 780 and 800 and addressed to the abbots of the kingdom, Charlemagne

considered it to be expedient that the bishoprics and monasteries intrusted by the favor of Christ to our government, in addition to

the rule of monastic life and the intercourse of holy religion, ought to be zealous also in the culture of letters, teaching those who by the gift of God are able to learn, according to the capacity of each individual.¹

In a general admonition to the clergy issued in 789, Charlemagne enjoined the clergy and the monks to "join and associate to themselves not only children of servile condition, but sons of free men." He asked further that schools be established in which boys might learn to read.

Much misunderstanding of Charlemagne's capitularies has arisen and they have been made to carry a weight of importance which they hardly deserve. In the first place Charlemagne was simply recalling the bishops and monks to the better performance of a duty which was recognized to be theirs. They were the acknowledged agents of education and Charlemagne told them to carry on in a more efficient way than they had been doing. Much has been made also of the request that children of servile condition should be given educational opportunities, but, indeed, the novelty did not lie in that phase of his recommendation. The cathedrals and monasteries were given, all through the period in question, to recruiting their ranks from among the bright boys of the servile classes, for within the church opportunity for a career was wide open to talent, as the church could use more bright boys than it could enlist. The novelty lay rather in the request that the church should make better educational provision for the sons of freemen. Whether these freeborn

¹ See Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I. Ginn and Company.

youths were likewise to enter the service of the church or were to make use of their learning in civil careers the capitulary does not say, but there are other indications that Charlemagne himself was feeling the pinch of the deficiency of educated men for carrying on the extensive civil administration which he had built up.

It was probably the needs of his own service which led him to call Alcuin from the Cathedral School at York in 782 to be the head of a school, to be maintained in his court at Aachen, called the Palace School. Charlemagne himself attended this school and is said to have mastered only with difficulty the art of writing, although he previously had been able to read. His sons and daughters, wards of the court, sons of the nobility, and even some of the brighter boys among the higher palace servants were enrolled. In aid of Alcuin, who brought with him from York three of his best pupils, were also called in scholars from Ireland, Lombardy, and Spain. Something more than the ordinary range of subjects seems to have been attempted, as special emphasis was laid upon the scientific side of the curriculum. Charlemagne himself was particularly interested in astronomy. A lower school was maintained for the younger boys in which the ordinary literary objectives were pursued. As for the Palace School as a whole, it seems to have been an informal intellectual center, made significant by the zeal of its royal founder, the rank of its pupils, and the eminence of its teachers.

The relationships of Charlemagne's interest in

education to the larger objectives of his civil administration is shown further in a capitulary issued in the year 801. He desired the universal Christianization of his people and to that end decreed that every one, man and woman, old and young, should learn by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, if not in Latin then in their vernacular tongue. Boys were to be sent to learn at any available place, whether in a monastery, or at the home of the parish priest, or in the bishop's palace, and they were to be taught free and without procrastination. The boys in turn were to go back home and teach the other members of the family what they had learned. There is no way of knowing to what extent the royal order was observed, but it is interesting to see, following so closely upon the Emperor's determination to organize a culturally unified people, his readiness to make use of compulsory education for achieving his end. His determination to foster learning was shown also in his appointment of competent scholars to be heads of dioceses and abbeys, where their influence could be felt in the improvement of church administration and schools.

Much of the educational progress which was made under Charlemagne was lost in the dismemberment of his kingdom following his death. This administrative weakness was supplemented by the inroads of the Norsemen (see p. 227) so that conditions in the area covered by the Empire of Charles were extremely unfavorable for education. In spite of all, however, the roll of scholars and teachers continued to grow. The tradition of royal support for

learning never completely failed, and when the Holy Roman Empire again became a principal factor in European politics under Otto the Great (936-973), the solicitude of the state for the schools was immediately exhibited.

Of more than passing interest as indicating the development of civil interest in education is the career of the English king, Alfred the Great, who ruled from 871 to 901. When he came to the throne, his country had been overrun by the Danes and most of it remained in their possession. Monasteries and churches had been destroyed, the towns were in ruins, and all that fair Anglo-Saxon civilization which had been the finest in Europe was in ashes. We cannot here recount the heroic story of the reconquest of his homeland nor even recall the measures that he put into effect for the healing and upbuilding of his broken country. We may only look with him upon the blasted ruins of the fine tradition of Anglo-Saxon learning, feel with him the hope that he had for its revival, and note the means which he proposed to employ to that end.

In his Preface to a translation of Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care* he recalls

what wise men there formerly were throughout England, both of sacred and secular orders and how many happy times there were then throughout England [and how zealous the sacred orders were] with teaching and learning. [He says that after the Danish wars] there were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English, and I believe that there were not many beyond the Humber. There were so few of them that I cannot remember a single one south of the Thames when I came

to the throne. [He also recalled how he had seen in his early days], before all had been ravaged and burnt, how the churches throughout the whole of England stood filled with treasures and books, and there was also a great multitude of God's servants. But they had very little knowledge of the books for they could not understand anything of them because they were not written in their own language. [He then proposed that some of the books which were most needful for all men to know should be translated into English.] And I would have you do as we very easily can if we have tranquility enough, that is, set all the youth now in England of free men, who are rich enough to be able to devote themselves to it, to learn, as long as they are not old enough for other occupations, until they are well able to read English writing. And let those be afterwards taught more in the Latin language who are to continue learning and be promoted to a higher rank.¹

Alfred, following the example of Charlemagne, gathered about him a company of the most learned men he could find to coöperate with him in educating his own sons and daughters, the youth and adults of the Court, and, ultimately, the entire people. He rebuilt the monasteries to serve as the homes of learning. Asser, the biographer of Alfred, says that Aethelward, the youngest son,

was intrusted to the schools of literary training, where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country, and many also who were not noble, he was under the diligent care of teachers. Books in both languages, namely, Latin and Saxon, were diligently read in the school. They also learned to write, so that before they were of an age to practice human arts, namely, hunting and other pursuits which befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts. . . . Edward and Aelfthryth were always bred up in the king's court, and received

¹ See Introduction to Sedgfield, W. J., *King Alfred's Version of the Consolations of Boethius*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

great attention from their tutors and nurses. . . . Nor, among the other pursuits which appertain to this life and are fit for noble youths, are they suffered to pass their time idly and unprofitably without liberal training, for they have carefully learned the Psalms and Saxon books, especially Saxon poems, and are in the habit of making frequent use of books.¹

It is impossible to say in detail what were the effects of Alfred's effort to foster education, but that he brought England back to something like its old state of culture is a matter of historical record. There can be little doubt but that his labors had important influence in the development of English civilization.

We have followed the story of developing Western education through a period during which the social environment was extremely unfavorable to schools and learning. The general confusion and violence of the times interrupted communication and intercourse and hindered that meeting of minds which is essential to intellectual growth. Books and materials of education were difficult to secure and all too frequently the scanty supply of books was destroyed by the fires of pillage and war. No extensive political organization existed to extend its aid and protection to the means of education. The only great institution was the church, and we have seen how it rose to meet its educational needs in the face of extremely discouraging conditions. Side by side with the secular orders of the church in its struggle to keep alight the lamp of learning, stood the monastic

¹ Cook, tr. *Asser's Life of King Alfred*.

institutions which needed the boon of communion with the saints through their written words to maintain the spirit of religion. Toward the close of this period of educational history we have observed the influence of a renewed civil interest in education, when large-pattern civil governments made a reappearance in Western society, and although the results were perhaps disappointing we may take the efforts made as a prophecy of what later centuries were to bring forth. We may turn now to a new educational era during which the influence of surrounding social conditions is distinctly more favorable to the prosperity of education than was the dark and troubled period of the six centuries which followed the downfall of the Roman government and the eclipse of classical civilization and culture.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. ROBINSON, J. H., *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, Ginn and Co., 1903, Chs. III–IX. — Presents the more important social and political developments of the period covered in the foregoing chapter.

2. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, Scribner, 1905, Chs. IV–IX, or THORNDIKE, L., *The History of Medieval Europe*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, Chs. V–XV. — More extended accounts of political and social developments.

3. TAYLOR, H. O., *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, Macmillan, 1911, Ch. VII. — An interpretation of the monastic ideal and an account of the development of monasticism.

4. MONTALEMBERT, C. F. R. de T., *The Monks of the West*, 7 vols., Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1861–1879.

5. CLARK, J., *The Abbey of St. Gall*, Cambridge University Press, 1926. — A history of one of the most famous of the medieval monasteries. Chapter V gives a detailed description of the school of the abbey.

6. GRAHAM, H., *The Early Irish Monastic Schools*, Talbot Press, Dublin, 1923. — A scholarly account of the flowering period of learning in Ireland. This study throws light on the early medieval curriculum at its best.

7. WEST, A. F., *Alcuin*, Scribner, 1892. — Gives an intimate picture of intellectual conditions in the late eighth and early ninth centuries in England and France and describes in considerable detail the educational activities of Charlemagne.

8. BESANT, W., *The Story of King Alfred*, D. Appleton and Co., 1901.

9. BOWKER, A., *Alfred the Great*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1899, pp. 1-114. — Discusses the political and educational interests of Alfred the Great.

10. SCHMID, K. A., *Geschichte der Erziehung*, Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 94-232. — For the student who possesses a command of German this reference and the one following will prove to be extremely useful. No equally satisfactory accounts of the educational conditions of the period are to be had in English.

11. SCHMID, K. A., *Encyklopaedie des Erziehungs-und-Unterrichtswesens*, Gotha, 1881, Article, "Mittelalterliches Schulwesen."

12. ABELSON, P., *The Seven Liberal Arts*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, New York, 1906. — Contains much authentic information regarding the early medieval curriculum.

CHAPTER X

CHANGES IN EUROPEAN SOCIETY MAKE ADVANCING EDUCATIONAL DEMANDS

IN making an effort to trace in brief compass the development of Western education through many centuries one is almost bound to fall into a certain fallacy. There is a great temptation to make the periods more definite and clean-cut in their limits and in their circumstances than the actual facts of the case warrant. And yet, even at the risk of the assumption of a false certainty and precision, this narrative must continue to concentrate attention upon the outstanding developments of education as related to the changes of institutional life in society at large, and more or less to neglect the details of the transition from one rather well developed condition to another.

It has been found to be serviceable, in this survey of the educational situation during the five or six centuries which followed the disappearance of Roman rule in the West, to fasten upon a few outstanding factors which have determined the extent and the modes of education. The Europe of that period was mainly rural, city life was stagnant and insignificant, there was little moving about, commerce was at a standstill, the land was covered with violence and confusion, small feudal governments were the

rule, government and law were local, and the caste of warriors and secular rulers had little need for the education of the schools. The only institution which had great, even universal extent, was the church. This great hierarchy, reaching in its jurisdiction from Rome to all the borders of Europe, carried on a great and detailed system of administration, conducted a system of courts, and met the responsibility of manning its entire system with servants who, in the most humble capacities, had to be able to read and, in the most exalted positions, had to be trained lawyers and competent administrators. Besides, in that troublous time, the church through the monasteries provided the only retreats to which men of peaceful, studious bent might go and pursue a life of meditation and study. For such weighty reasons the church became the protector of learning and the fostering parent of schools, and such levels as education reached during the period were conditioned by the practical needs of the church and the generally unfriendly circumstances to be found in society at large.

If we turn now to the period extending from about the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth, we shall discover a vastly different set of social circumstances conditioning education. Instead of the complete dominance of a rural life and economy will be noted the presence and growing importance of towns and cities. Commerce and manufacturing will have revived; men will be much given to traveling about in pursuit of gain, honor, or knowledge. The small-pattern governments of the

earlier period will be undergoing changes to larger forms of civil administration under emperors and kings. The universal empire of the church, become self-conscious, will define its nature and its powers in all-compassing terms, and between the growing nation-states and the hierarchy of the church will be carried out a bitter struggle for supremacy in the Western World. Even the rough warrior noble of the earlier feudal times will have developed a code of chivalry and learned the arts of poesie and love.

The influence of these social changes upon education will be profound. The new intricacy of population and commercial relationships will call for more adequate legal and administrative systems, which in turn will demand a vastly greater number of better trained civil servants. New and more advanced studies will be called for and provided, more and better schools will be developed, and new forms of educational administration will come into existence.

Signs of a new vitality in European life. — Before the eleventh century the Norsemen, last of the barbarian Teutonic invaders, had ceased to be the scourge of Europe, and some of them had settled down to add their racial genius to the national composition of France and England. In the eleventh century Europe showed signs of surplus population and, turning to the offensive, began to open up new frontiers at the expense of Moslems in the Spanish peninsula and of the Slavic peoples to the northeast and the east of what had been the old empire of Charlemagne. Passing beyond the borders of Europe the soldiers of Christendom, during a period

of more than two hundred and fifty years, conducted repeated campaigns in recovery of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem from the Mohammedans. Such vast activities as these are signs that new forces were stirring in Europe that had not existed during the Dark Ages and in themselves they proved a stimulus to trade and the intellectual life. However, before the first crusade was preached by Pope Urban in 1095, there were many significant developments which showed that the intellectual sleep of the earlier time had been interrupted. Roscellinus (c. 1050–1121) and Anselm (1033–1109) had heralded the beginning of a new philosophic interest, the school of medicine at Salerno had revived the study of the classical works on the theory and practice of the healing art, flourishing schools existed at Chartres, Cologne, and in many other towns north of the Alps, while the Italian cities had already experienced a renewed interest in the Roman civil law and its study from the complete Code of Justinian. Let us turn now to consideration of the social forces and institutional developments which will be seen most powerfully to influence educational development during the period from the eleventh to the fifteenth century.

The growth of the towns and the rise of the third estate. — Although, of course, the account of the development of town life in Europe must be left to the general historian, it is essential that we have in mind the fact that after the eleventh century flourishing towns were to be found scattered all over Europe where previously had been only stagnant

villages or open country. This sociological development is of importance in the history of education, because towns have always fostered intellectual exchange and town life always has been a condition of educational development. Moreover, the towns were the centers of manufacture and trade, and thus they created the conditions which not only made necessary, but made possible, the reorganization of western systems of political administration, with its attendant larger demands upon a trained civil service. The towns created the resources which made possible the life of study for many, and out of the ranks of the sons of the burghers eventually came thousands into the schools and universities to swell the numbers of the educated class.

Certainly not the least important aspect of the new town life is the fact that the burghers added a new classification to medieval society. The nobility and the higher clergy remained as before the privileged classes, and at the other end of the social scale were the serfs and villeins who continued, for long centuries to come, to be social nobodies. The dwellers in the towns had originally been of the servile class and for a long time the social influence of their origin clung to them. Indeed, before the fourteenth century the burghers as a class were not socially nor intellectually ambitious and it is only in the latter part of our present period that they began, to any great extent, to seek out for their sons the educational opportunities which might mean social promotion.

The burghers became important in European society

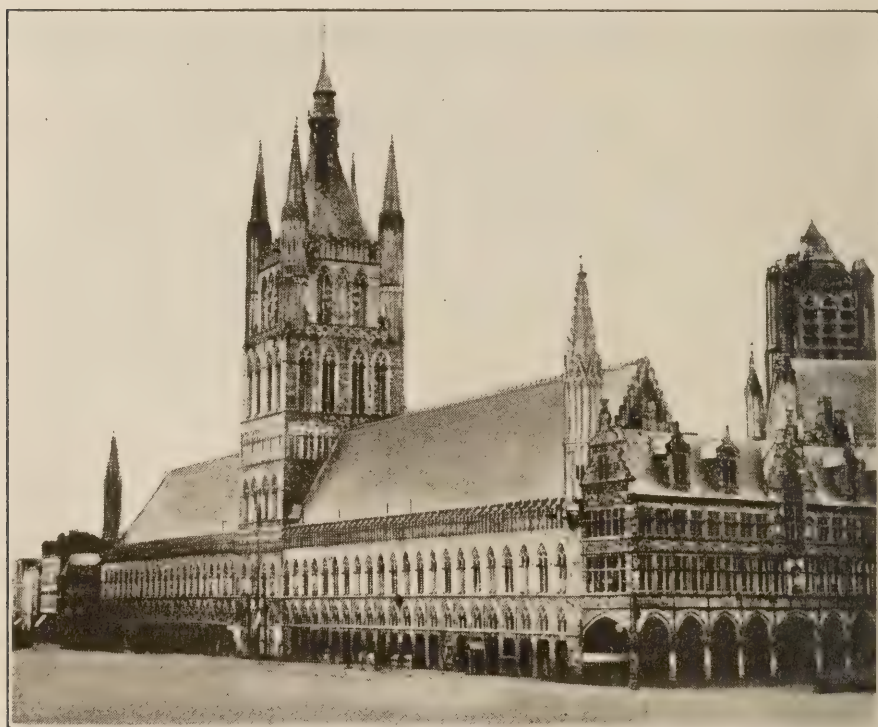
because they created a new type of wealth in movable goods, personal property, money, or capital. This enabled them to buy privileges from local magnates who were in a position of overlordship to them, and their wealth and the possibilities of taxation which it represented caused them to become in a special way the objects of royal solicitude. The need of the merchant and manufacturing class for uniform and fair laws and for social security made them the natural allies in the efforts of kings to reduce the power of their lords temporal and spiritual and to establish national systems of government. In the course of time the towns developed a system of self-government independent of local interference. Some of the great commercial centers became free and independent cities, like the Hanse towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen. In northern Italy occurred the most striking development of independent town life and here occurred as well the earliest intellectual and artistic renaissance of any portion of Europe. By the year 1295 Edward I, King of England, included two representatives from each of one hundred and ten boroughs, along with the knights of the shires, the lords, bishops, and abbots in his summons to what is called the Model Parliament. In 1302, Philip the Fair, King of France, likewise included representatives of the towns in a meeting of the Estates General, in which the townsmen sat separately as the Third Estate. Known variously as burghers, the bourgeoisie, the middle class, or the Third Estate, the town merchant and manufacturer came to possess greater and greater

economic and political significance and to grow in social esteem.

A phase of town life which very definitely influenced education, as we shall see later on, was the tendency of merchants and artisans to organize in the form of guilds. These guilds were close corporations of members of the same craft or trade and originally were for the purposes of self-protection and of keeping up the quality of their product or wares. New members were admitted only on the votes of those already in, and membership became essential to the successful pursuit of any business. In the case of the crafts, the masters took apprentices to whom they taught their trade. After a specified term of service, the apprentice who had mastered the intricacies of the craft became a worker, or journeyman, at day's wages. If he were later on elected to the guild of masters, he was expected to produce a specimen of the work of the craft which he had made himself, which was called a masterpiece. The three stages of apprentice, journeyman, and master were clearly defined, but by no means every journeyman was admitted to the guild of the masters. The organization of the guild was closely followed in university administration, since the universities were in the beginning simply guilds of teachers or students. Besides the strictly commercial features of the guilds, they were religious and social organizations. They gave plays, organized relief for their unfortunate brothers, felicitated one another in their marriages and the christening of their children, attended one another in sickness and death, and

even, as will be seen, sometimes employed a common priest and maintained a school.

Vocational education through apprenticeship. — It would be nearsighted indeed to fail to give due credit to the system of apprenticeship for the great social service which it performed in the way of



Courtesy Avery Library, Columbia University

Fig. 30. — The Cloth Hall at Ypres, Belgium, built originally in the thirteenth century to serve as the town hall.

vocational education. The noteworthy craftsmanship of the Middle Ages was fostered exclusively by that means of training. The master would take a boy or two at an early age and personally supervise the acquisition of the skills of his trade by the apprentice. The apprentice lived in the home of the mas-

ter and served a term of several years, making himself generally useful and gradually acquiring the master's knowledge and skill.

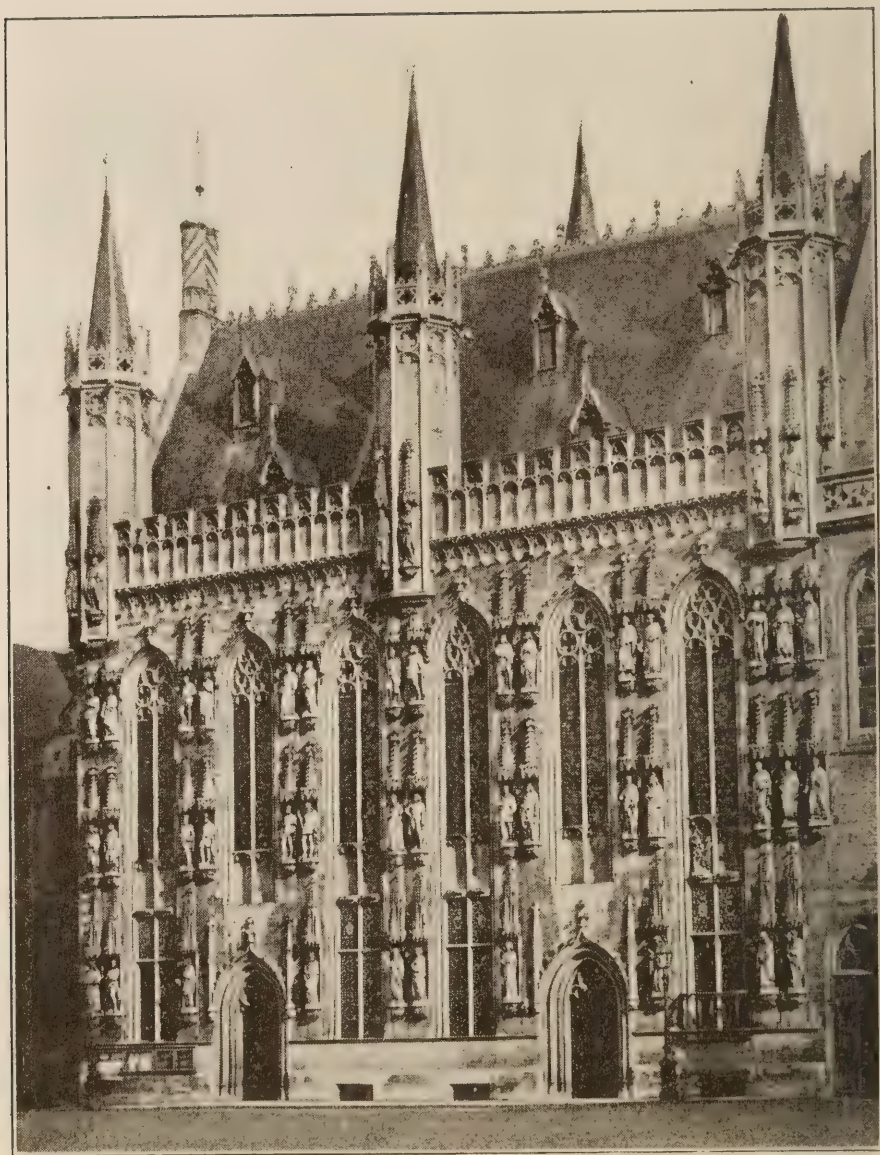
Of technical science and mathematics there was little in medieval craftsmanship and such as there was the apprentice acquired in the ordinary course



Courtesy Avery Library, Columbia University

Fig. 31. — The Cathedral at Chartres, France — one of the best examples of thirteenth century Gothic architecture.

of learning the practical side of the trade. It is, however, easy to underestimate the intellectual and artistic aspects of the medieval artisan's labor. In the making of a stained glass window or of a tapestry, the artisan became artist, while in the erection of a cathedral, the builder became construction engineer. Perhaps no single object recalls more fully the multifarious excellence of medieval work-



Courtesy Avery Library, Columbia University

Fig. 32. — The Town Hall at Bruges. The architectural detail shown in the picture is a good example of fourteenth century craftsmanship.

manship than does any one of the great Gothic cathedrals built in the thirteenth century. Here the builder, the mason, the sculptor, the stained glass worker, the carver of wood, the silversmith and the goldsmith, the embosser of leather, the blacksmith — to mention only a few of the trades called upon — coöperated in the production of a work of art which objectified the central notion of the most completely unified period of Western history. What they built remains mute evidence of their artistry and of their solid proficiency.

The medieval system of apprenticeship education prepared the youth of the third estate for doing the work upon which much of the prosperity of society depended and by means of which the crudity and barrenness of the Dark Ages were left behind. Viewed from the standpoint of its social importance, it should be regarded as of at least equal significance with the more formal education given in schools and universities and with the chivalric education of the nobility. Viewed from the standpoint of its thoroughness and its success, it is an object of emulation in the twentieth century.



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 33. — Example of Italian textiles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The conflict between the universal church and the temporal powers. — One of the factors of social change occurring during the period under consideration which was of very great importance for education, was the progress made in the development of large-pattern political governments. We have seen the influential place which the church held *as a government*, during the early Middle Ages. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries the church consciously and explicitly set forth the claim to be the supreme power in Christendom, superior to any temporal government whatsoever. The main opposition to this claim of the church universal came from the Holy Roman emperors and the kings of the developing nation-states, particularly England and France. For a time it seemed that the international church organization would triumph over the smaller national form of government, but in the end the more compact national state, with its immediate control of armed force and economic resources and its stronger appeal to loyalty and patriotism, won the day. By the fourteenth century, the church as a political institution had lost much of its power, and the sixteenth century was to see the full triumph of the national principle. It was, however, the political aspirations of the papacy during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries which to a great extent determined the main lines of educational development during that period.

The papacy and the empire. — During the tenth century the papacy had fallen into a low state, and Otto, the King of Saxony, went to Rome in 962 to

set matters to rights in the Papal See. He was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope at that time and he and his successors endeavored to restore, if not the ancient Empire of Rome, at least the Empire of Charlemagne. With the restoration of the Empire in the West, the question arose as to the relationship which should exist between this civil state with its universal pretensions and the ecclesiastical state with the pope at its head. Was the emperor supreme in the temporal realm and the pope supreme in the spiritual? Was the pope or the emperor supreme in both realms? Ultimately the question would have to be pushed to its extreme interpretation because of the way in which temporal and spiritual realms coalesced. The bishops and abbots, as has been seen (see p. 232) were important members of the feudal organization, and for that reason the emperor had reason to demand their loyalty and financial aid and naturally was concerned in the choice of men to the higher church offices. On the other hand, these feudal magnates were the servants of the church and were charged with important duties of ecclesiastical administration. The situation was made still more complicated by reason of the fact that the popes were temporal rulers over a large part of Italy and were drawn, therefore, into very material and worldly political relationships with the growing cities of northern Italy and the temporal rules of the southern part of the peninsula. Without going into the details of the development, it is enough for the purpose of this story to recall that the inevitable controversy between the Holy Roman emperors and

the popes led to the clear statement of the pretensions of both sides to the controversy and did much to bring to self-consciousness the theory that the popes, as heads of the universal church, were superior to any temporal powers in Europe.

The universal church-state. — The full statement of the papal theory occurred during the papacy of

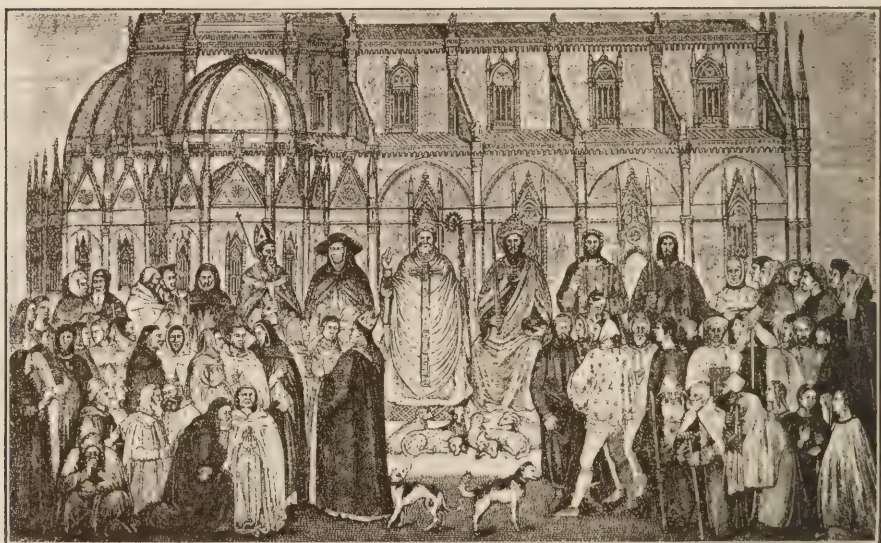


Fig. 34. — The Church Militant. From the fresco by Simone Memmi in the Cathedral at Sienna painted in the fourteenth century. The dogs in the foreground are intended to represent the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars protecting the lambs of the Church from the attacks of the wolves of heresy. Taken from Lacroix, *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*, Bickers and Son, London.

Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). This theory regarded the pope as the universal bishop who could make and unmake subordinate bishops and archbishops. It gave the pope the power over the acts of church councils. It asserted the power of the pope to depose emperors and kings and to release subjects from allegiance to their rulers,

declared that the pope's decrees were supreme over the decrees and legislation of temporal powers, and held that the right of appeal to the pope from the decisions of any temporal court were not to be abridged. In another direction, the papal theory contemplated the development of a unified Christian culture through the control of the intellectual life. The decisions of the church as personified in the supreme pontiff, were to be accepted as infallible truth. No book was to be regarded as possessing any truth or authority if it did not have the pope's sanction. No one was to be allowed the name of Christian if he did not believe in all respects as the church dictated.

It is this conception of a great universal state, embracing the whole of Christendom, which led to the oppressive control during the Middle Ages of the intellectual life. In more recent times nations have endeavored to develop a cultural unity among their citizens by means of the schools. In this later period, national patriotism and loyalty to state have been stressed. In the Middle Ages, the papal ideal was to bring the whole of Christendom into a cultural unity through undeviating acceptance of the official theology of the church and through subservience to its official administration. The constitution of that superstate was the Bible and the Creed; its embodiment was in the officials of the church. Any failure to accept that constitution in all its particulars or to perform to the full the services required was treason, although the church name for treason was heresy. Then, as now, trea-

son was regarded as the worst of crimes, punishable by the extremest penalties. And the seriousness of treason against the church was all the greater and such crime the more heinous and reprehensible because it represented an attack, not upon a temporal power, but upon God's accepted agency for bringing mankind to a state of salvation from its congenital sin. It is only when one realizes the full implication of the papal theory of the superstate that one can understand the tremendous earnestness of the medieval desire for orthodoxy and the horrid vindictiveness with which any deviation from the accepted forms of belief was persecuted.

Twelfth century heresies. — The formulation of the theory of papal supremacy in a universal church-state occurred at a time when there was developing a strong undercurrent of disaffection with the official beliefs and administration of the church. In the latter part of the twelfth century, the Waldensians opposed what in the main had been historical developments within the church, such as the power and special unction of the officials of the church, celibacy, and the saving power of masses said for the dead. They refused to pay tithes for the support of the church and insisted on following informal and unauthorized modes of worship. This movement developed a considerable following in the middle and western part of France.

More important than the Waldensian heresy was the religious belief of the Albigensians, which spread from the Balkans, where its followers were known as Bogomiles, into the southern part of France.

Ultimately, in the early thirteenth century, the nobility, the common people, and even some of the clergy of Provence and the County of Toulouse were subscribers to this heretical doctrine of the Albigensians. This was a modified form of Manichaeism and involved a belief in the dual constitution of reality. Two forces, the power of good and the power of evil, were forever contending in the world for supremacy. With evil was allied matter and everything physical and sensual. Christ was the representative of the spiritual nature, and his worship involved the renunciation of worldly things. The papacy and the church generally were not to be regarded as followers of Christ because they did not sufficiently condemn worldly goods and enjoyments.

Both of these heresies were forcibly put down by the church and their followers compelled to recant or put to death for their persistence in unbelief. The Albigensian heresy was so widespread, however, and so protected by the local rulers that Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) preached a Holy Crusade against the Albigensians. Armies went into the territory, sacked cities, and killed thousands of the heretics. However, the movement was not crushed by this campaign of violence and after the death of Innocent, his successor managed further military campaigns against the movement and set up an inquisition which condemned a great many of the recalcitrant to death. Finally, as a supreme effort to bring back the region to orthodoxy, Pope Gregory IX established the University of Toulouse in 1229. “The university was intended as a sort of spiritual

garrison in the heart of the conquered land of heresy." "It was determined to build up a seminary of ecclesiastical learning on the ruins of the vernacular and secular culture of Languedoc." The Friars were put exclusively in charge of the teaching of theology and the masters for all the other subjects were carefully chosen with reference to their orthodoxy. Thus did the church militant deal with threats against the cultural unity of Christendom.

The intellectual position of Christianity in the twelfth century. — The examples of deviation from orthodoxy which have been described above were indeed the most spectacular evidences of disaffection within the boundaries of Christendom, but a far more fundamental danger to the supremacy of the church lay in the natural expression of intellectual independence which was bound to come along with the general revival of intellectual interests and activities which was characteristic of the eleventh century. As has already been observed (see Chapter VII) Christianity in the course of its early development had taken into itself a large element of Greek metaphysics, but the philosophical development was practically brought to an end at the Council of Nicaea. For centuries following that event, the church had been in the hands of relatively uneducated men, or at least of men little acquainted with the subtleties of metaphysics. During the same period its beliefs and practices had been materialized owing to the necessities of adapting them to the religious needs of a crude and barbarous age, and matters of belief and practice had been added to the faith which, to

say the least, demanded explanation for a person of intelligence. When, in the growing intercourse and in the multiplying contacts of the twelfth century men began to discuss matters of faith, there was a tendency for them to become critical, even skeptical of many of the accepted beliefs of the church.

Perhaps no other figure better represents the new freedom of intellectual play on theological questions than Abelard (1079-1142), the great teacher whose work in Paris is ordinarily considered to be the foundation of an intellectual tradition which culminated in the University of Paris. Abelard's was an active, original mind, and while he did not actually depart in his thinking from what in a very short time became the official philosophy of the church, his whole attitude was alarming to the conservative churchmen of his day. The very claim that matters of faith deserved to be seen as acceptable to reason was sinister in itself. During much of his later life Abelard was pursued by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and brought before two church tribunals, and although he was never condemned for heresy, he was kept in a constant state of fear and his intellectual development was effectually suppressed.

Perhaps the most original thing that Abelard did was the collection of a list of one hundred fifty-eight questions in a book called *Sic et Non* ("Yea and Nay"). Examples of these questions are: Should human faith be based on reason, or no? Is God one, or no? Are the flesh and blood of Christ in very truth and essence present in the sacrament of

the altar, or no? In connection with each of these he arranged all the statements from the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers which might support the affirmative answer and beside them all the statements which would seem to favor the negative. In the book itself Abelard did not presume to answer the question one way or the other or to accept the superior weight of either set of authorities.

One of the great philosophical problems which Abelard was concerned with, along with other thinkers of his time, was the question of the real existence of universals and their relationship to particular things. The problem is one of genuine philosophic difficulty and has agitated philosophers from the time of the Sophists to the present. It was of peculiar importance in the intellectual justification of Christian dogma, because Christian faith was built upon a faith in the existence of things not seen, such as God, the Holy Ghost, the soul, and the immortal life. God was a spiritual or conceptual reality, as was the human soul. Those notions belonged to the realm of *genera*, ideas, concepts. If Christianity was to be a satisfactory belief from the intellectual standpoint, the existence of such general notions had to be substantiated and their relationship to particular things explained. Thus orthodoxy logically became the support of some shade of realism and defended the existence of the universals.

The negative position had few avowed supporters during the Middle Ages, as we can easily understand. The first great opponent of the belief in the independent existence of universals was Roscellinus

who lived from about 1050 to 1121. He held that there existed only individual things and that one came to the notion of genera or universals from the examination and comparison of particular cases. There are individual men, but there is no universal man. And so it is with all other cases of what one thinks of as examples of the genus, or general notion. The individual exists. The genus has no existence apart from the individual instance. Universals are only names, whence the name of Nominalists as applied to the holders of this theory. The implications of such a position for Christian belief were devastating, for it reduced reality to such things only as could be seen or experienced through the senses. The realm of spiritual existences, such as God and the soul, was put in jeopardy.

It is little to be wondered at when we consider the conditions of his age that Roscellinus paid the penalty of martyrdom for his philosophical beliefs. The main count against Abelard on his appearances before church tribunals was that he was not orthodox in his doctrine of the universals. As a matter of fact, his position on this issue was almost identical with the pronouncement a century later of the great Dominican doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, but the issue raised was a critical one and any slightest doubt of regularity was regarded as a dangerous tendency. The century which followed the death of Abelard was one of great activity in philosophic circles, for there was a great deal in Christian dogma that required intellectual justification. The church feared and regretted this constant raising of con-

troversial issues, but in a faith so largely compounded of metaphysics, philosophical speculation seemed to be inevitable.

The final settlement of the philosophical issues which made difficulty in the church occurred in the thirteenth century. One can say "finally" with some justification because the settlement then achieved remains without alteration the official philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church to-day. But before describing the way in which this equilibrium was arrived at, it is desirable to turn to another phase of the vigorous and varied life of the thirteenth century.

The mendicant friars the missionaries of orthodoxy. — Early in the thirteenth century there developed two religious orders with which the intellectual history of the times was closely involved. One of these, the Franciscan Friars, did not originate as a teaching, but rather as a preaching organization whose peculiar mission it was to be to go among the poor, particularly of the towns and cities, who were without adequate religious ministrations from the secular priests. They practiced extreme poverty and almost immediately gained a great deal of affection among the people at large. The second order was that of the Dominican Friars. Its founder, St. Dominic, had been in Toulouse during the prevalence of the Albigensian heresy and had been greatly agitated over the extent of the disaffection from the church. He determined to recruit a body of missionaries in the form of a religious order whose chief purpose was to be teaching and preaching in the interest of orthodox beliefs. The result of his labors

was the establishment of the Dominican Order of Friars. They aimed at reaching the influential educated class and to that end sought out the strategic positions of teachers and university professors. In a remarkably short time — before the end of the thirteenth century — they had come to dominate the instruction in theology in the University of Paris, if not in their persons, at least in the authoritative writings of two of their greatest members — Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1221–1274). The Dominican Friars were ubiquitous in all the university centers of Europe and probably contributed more than any other agency to the general acceptance in Christendom of an authoritative statement of Christian orthodox belief. While the Franciscans were not primarily devoted to higher education, they also contributed a number of famous names to the roll of medieval doctors, preëminent among which was that of the English Friar, Roger Bacon (c. 1214–1294).

The establishment of the canon of orthodoxy. — One of the great difficulties which the twelfth century philosophers experienced in their effort to take apart and justify the structure of Christian theology was that they had in their possession only a small part of the tools which had been used in its original construction. Abelard, for example, knew only a very small portion of the philosophy of Aristotle, and that mainly the elements of his logic. The passage which precipitated the discussion about universals was found in the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and reads as follows :

Next, concerning genera and species, the question indeed whether they have a substantial existence, or whether they consist in bare intellectual concepts only, or whether if they have a substantial existence they are corporeal or incorporeal, and whether they are separable from the sensible properties of the things (in particulars of sense), or are only in those properties or subsisting about them, I shall forbear to determine. For a question of this kind is a very deep one and one that requires a longer investigation.¹

Thus the first chapter only was given; the sequel remained unknown. The early philosophers did not enjoy the aid of the great philosophical systems of classical antiquity in their effort to explain the Christian canon which so largely depended upon those systems of thought.

In the generation following Abelard the whole of Aristotle's logic was for the first time made available to medieval scholars through the translation of James of Venice. The remaining works of Aristotle gradually made their way into Europe from various sources. Some of them were brought into Europe from the Saracens in Spain, while others were brought directly from Constantinople and the Near East. Translated into Latin, sometimes out of a version that had successively gone through the Syriac and Arabic languages, the works of Aristotle by the middle of the thirteenth century were practically as completely known to the medieval as to the modern scholar. With the great and authoritative statement of Aristotle's philosophy in their possession, the theologians of the West were in a much better

¹ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I. 39.

position to undertake the definitive statement of Christian doctrine. The church at first was distrustful of the works of the Master, as Aristotle was called by many generations of medieval scholars, but his authority was too great to be resisted and, ultimately, in the systems of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas his philosophy became the main support of Christian theology.

One of the great division points in the intellectual history of Christendom is the publication of the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas. It was inevitable that some authoritative statement of Christian theology should be made, for its metaphysical components constantly invited to speculation. The only safeguard against errant and dangerous speculation would be a statement which would make use of the whole armory of metaphysics and once and for all put the dogma upon a strong philosophical basis. This is what Aquinas did for Christianity. He wrote a revised constitution of Christendom. In their entirety his works continue to be accepted as the official philosophy of the Catholic Church, and in the great essentials of Christian doctrine they remain the bulwark of orthodox, or conservative, Protestant belief. A straight line can be drawn from the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas to the position taken by the so-called "fundamentalists" in contemporary religious controversy. It should be said that whatever intellectual weakness might have been inherent in the theology of Aquinas was more than made up for in the powerful support accorded it by the Church.

The Holy Roman Empire and the Italian cities.—

Having considered in some particulars the theory of papal supremacy and having noted some of the implications of that theory for the intellectual history of Europe, let us turn now to consider the development of large-pattern temporal sovereignties, which had no less important bearings upon education. Of the temporal powers, it is necessary to say a few words about the revived Holy Roman Empire, which was the occasion in the beginning for the papacy's definition of its powers. The Holy Roman Empire was at the most a German state with a claim upon northern Italy which was particularly difficult to substantiate. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries northern Italy was the center of the most thriving commercial life of any portion of Europe and its cities led the way in the reclamation of European culture and civilization. The towns early threw off the feudal control of noble or ecclesiastical overlords and developed political independence. The only bar to their complete autonomy was the claim of imperial overlordship which was exercised upon them by the Holy Roman Emperor.

The theory held to by the cities was that they were *municipia*, in the Roman sense, that the historical continuity of their Roman status had never been interrupted, and that, consequently, they were entitled to all the immunities which Roman law and precedent gave them. The Emperor, on the other hand, invoked the theory of the Roman imperial government which made him supreme in his sov-

ereignty. The contest with the Italian cities, which was conducted at great expense and difficulty by the Emperors from the other side of the Alps, is chiefly significant in this connection for the great stimulus which the conflict gave to the study of Roman law. Probably as early as the eleventh century there were flourishing schools of civil law in Rome, Pavia, and Ravenna, and it is quite certain that long before the middle of the twelfth century there was an active association or university of teachers of the civil law in Bologna, where access was freely had to the full formulation of the civil law as given in the *Digest* of Justinian (see p. 217). Evidently expecting the authority of the Roman law to work in his favor, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1158 confirmed to the University of Bologna the rights and privileges which it was enjoying and gave it a charter which made its license to teach of universal validity.

Owing to its internal weakness and the difficulties of maintaining its sovereignty in Italy, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to be an important factor in European politics after 1273. The course of its brief and troubled aspiration for life and power is indicative of the influence which was exerted by the Roman form of imperial government in the upbuildings of the nation states of Europe.

The development of the power of national kings. — Much more important for our attention than the Holy Roman Empire is the growth of the royal power in France and England. For in those countries was exhibited the process whereby Europe was to pass out of the small-pattern civil administration

of the feudal system. There, too, is to be seen the growth of the power which was destined to oppose and ultimately to defeat the ideal which the papacy held to of a great universal Christian state in which supreme power was in the hands of the popes.

When Louis VI (1108-1137) came to the throne of France, the king of that country was but one of many great feudal lords. He had been given the special designation of "king," but such power as he possessed depended upon his personal feudal possessions, and such loyalty as he secured from his great vassals he had to fight for. The total area over which he had direct control was only about one-twelfth of the French territory. Louis VI reduced robber nests of barons within his domain, protected the growing cities, fostered security, helped business, and was a good friend of the church. He was indefatigable in the dispensation of justice and sent judges out to hear cases.

The power of the French kingship developed notably during the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223). Philip enlarged his domain through warfare and was the first French king of whom it might be said that he was more powerful than any one of his great vassals. He made a notable improvement in the administration of his domain by creating a new grade of official, the *baillis*, and setting the *baillis* over several *prevots*, who had previously represented the king locally but who tended to become local magnates in turn. Each *bailli* held court at stated intervals and made reports directly to the king, but

his special duty was the collection of feudal taxes and accounting for them to the royal coffers.

Louis IX (1226-1270), called the Pious, was not only successful in such wars as he waged but also notably efficient in extending his domain through peaceful means. His main contribution in the development of the French kingship lay, however, in his constructive domestic policy. The king's money was declared to be the only legal tender in his own domain and furthermore it was to be accepted as legal tender in any French province. A new administrative order was established in the *missi dominici* who were to supervise the work of the *baillis* and report directly to the Crown. The office of *bailli* was reformed in the interest of greater efficiency and more certain justice. The enlarged duties of the royal administration are to be seen in the composition of the king's council, which was divided into three groups. Of these the council proper had charge of all executive functions. The treasury was in charge of the collection and the disbursement of money. The *parlement* became the highest judicial body, with its seat in Paris. The revival of Roman civil law made its influence shown at this time in France, when the king declared himself the ultimate source of law. He further made good his contention that appeals might be taken from any court to the king's court and that he might summon anyone to trial at his court. The old and barbarous trial by battle was forbidden as a means of justice. He limited the jurisdiction of the canon law by curtailing the jurisdiction of the bishops and

compelling the lower clergy to submit to trial in the king's court. In these measures the king of France took great steps in the development of his power as against the feudal barons and the judicial authority of the Church.

Under Philip IV, the Fair (1285-1314), the influence of the study of Roman law began to show in the new conception of the king's prerogatives. The king's favorites, the *legistes*, filled his mind with the thought that his power was absolute, and many acts of his reign give indication that the idea had taken root and prospered. In this reign France became more than ever the leading power of Europe. Embassies sent out by the king established diplomatic relations with the other courts of Europe. Philip the Fair had a notable clash with the Pope, Boniface VIII, which resulted in the triumph of the king and the complete discomfiture of the occupant of the papal chair. This decisive "show-down" between the head of a nation-state and the head of the church was occasioned by the Pope's demand that France and England, which were then at war, should make him the arbitrator of their differences. When Philip refused, the Pope issued the famous bull, *Clericis laicos*, in which he forbade, on pain of excommunication, laymen to levy taxes on church property and churchmen to pay such taxes. Philip imprisoned the papal legate and countered with a law which forbade any money to be taken out of France into Italy. Then came the bull, *Unam sanctam*, which declared the pope to be the head of all temporal and spiritual powers and threatened to

depose and excommunicate Philip. The King then preferred charges against the Pope and called for a general council to settle the issues in question, upon which the Pope published the ban of excommunication and the edict of deposition against Philip. The next development saw Philip's army in Rome. The Pope was captured and maltreated and in a few days he died. This incident was the beginning of what has been called the Babylonian Captivity of the papacy, during which period the popes resided at Avignon and were completely under the influence of the French kings.

Philip the Fair made extensive changes in the machinery of government. The personal service of the king was under the *hôtel*. The *chancellerie* had charge of the administration of public affairs, and within this body was a college of notaries whose business it was to draw up all public documents. The king's council advised him on all important questions. It was this King who first asked the cities to send representatives to the Estates General in 1302, and that body promised him the support of the whole people in his struggle with the Pope. The same reign saw a remarkable growth of the *parlement*, which was the highest judicial body of France. Cases were heard before it from the royal domain and appeals were taken to it from baronial and church courts from all over the kingdom.

It will not be necessary in this connection to trace further the development of the French kingship. The progress toward consolidation of government in the hands of the King which has already been

observed is sufficient to illustrate the great change which was taking place in the nature of civil government in the western part of Europe. While the French development differed from the English in many ways that would be of importance in the study of constitutional history, the English kings in much the same way as the French took power out of the hands of the feudal nobility and organized a strictly national government. The interest of the state as against that of the universal church was jealously guarded. The increase of governmental activities which came to be concentrated in the English Crown likewise called for an expansion and more systematic organization of the civil service.

Perhaps the most striking reorganization of the civil government which occurred in Europe during the period under consideration was the effort of Emperor Frederick II early in the thirteenth century to build up a highly centralized monarchy in Sicily. Frederick was himself a cultivated man and was familiar with the principles of the Roman civil law and the theory of Roman civil administration. He put down the feudal nobility, introduced a new system of law and justice which showed great dependence on the civil law, and established a system of taxation in place of the older system of feudal dues. He also established a University at Naples in 1224, ostensibly for the purpose of developing a Faculty of Civil Law which might be loyal to his own ends and thus to a degree counteract the influence of the University of Bologna professors of law who were decidedly hostile to the imperial cause.

It is not difficult to see that in this very general movement which was taking place in Europe in the direction of compactly organized nation-states, the

UNIVERSITY	COUNTRY	YEAR	UNIVERSITY	COUNTRY	YEAR
<i>Twelfth Century</i>					
Salerno . . .	Italy	Unknown	Vienna . . .	Austria	1365
Bologna . . .	Italy	Unknown	Fünfkirchen . .	Hungary	1367
Paris . . .	France	Unknown	Erfurt . . .	Germany	1379
Oxford . . .	England	1167-68	Heidelberg . .	Germany	1385
Reggio . . .	Italy	1188	Cologne . . .	Germany	1388
Montpellier .	France	Unknown	Buda . . .	Hungary	1389
			Ferrara . . .	Italy	1391
<i>Thirteenth Century</i>			<i>Fifteenth Century</i>		
Vicenza . . .	Italy	1204	Turin . . .	Italy	1405
Cambridge . .	England	1209	Aix . . .	France	1409
Palencia . . .	Spain	1212-14	Wurzburg . . .	Germany	
Arezzo . . .	Italy	1215	Leipsic . . .	Germany	1409
Padua . . .	Italy	1222	St. Andrews . .	Scotland	1413
Naples . . .	Italy	1224	Rostock . . .	Germany	1419
Vercelli . . .	Italy	1228	Dole . . .	France	1422
Salamanca . .	Spain	Before 1230	Louvain . . .	Belgium	1425
Toulouse . . .	France	1230	Greifswald . . .	Germany	1428
Curia Romana .	Italy	1244-45	Poitiers . . .	France	1431
Siena . . .	Italy	1246	Caen . . .	France	1437
Piacenza . . .	Italy	1248	Bordeaux . . .	France	1441
Valladolid . .	Spain	c. 1250	Catania . . .	Italy	1444
Seville . . .	Spain	1254	Barcelona . . .	Spain	1450
Lisbon-Coimbra	Portugal	1290	Glasgow . . .	Scotland	1451
Angers . . .	France		Treves . . .	Germany	1454
<i>Fourteenth Century</i>			Freiburg . . .	Germany	1455-56
Lerida . . .	Spain	1300	Valence . . .	France	1459
Rome . . .	Italy	1303	Bâle . . .	Germany	1459
Avignon . . .	France	1303	Ingolstadt . . .	Germany	1459
Perugia . . .	Italy	1308	Nantes . . .	France	1460
Treviso . . .	Italy	1318	Bourges . . .	France	1464
Cahors . . .	France	1332	Pressburg . . .	Hungary	1465-67
Grenoble . . .	France	1339	Saragossa . . .	Spain	1474
Pisa . . .	Italy	1343	Mainz . . .	Germany	1476
Prague . . .	Bohemia	1347-48	Tübingen . . .	Germany	1476-77
Florence . . .	Italy	1349	Upsala . . .	Sweden	1477
Perpignan . .	Spain	1349	Copenhagen . .	Denmark	1477
Huesca . . .	Spain	1359	Avila . . .	Spain	1482
Pavia . . .	Italy	1361	Palma . . .	Spain	1483
Orange . . .	France	1365	Besançon . . .	France	1485
Cracow . . .	Poland	1364	Siguenza . . .	Spain	1489
			Aberdeen . . .	Scotland	1494
			Alcala . . .	Spain	1499
			Valencia . . .	Spain	1500

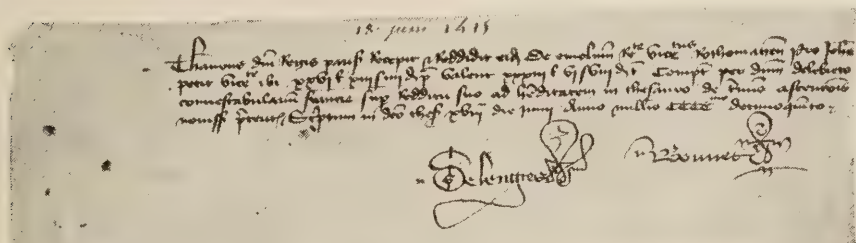
Fig. 35. — A table showing the location and date of founding of universities in Europe, 1100-1500. Compiled from table given in Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II, 1, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Roman legal and administrative precedents would serve as influential examples. The conditions of Roman life, with all their intricate commercial relationships, had led to the development of a system of law adequate to meet the knotty problems of property right which were bound to arise under such circumstances. When Europe, through its revival of trade and commerce, began to exhibit the same conditions, its courts were confronted with a type of litigation that neither the customary law of rural localities nor the canon law of the church was adequate to care for. As a result the Roman civil law was carefully studied all over Europe and came either directly, as in Germany and the Romance countries, to serve as the law of the land, or indirectly, as in England, to stimulate and influence the development of the Common Law.

The Roman precedents of civil government were no less carefully studied by lawyers who were interested in assisting their sovereigns to develop a theory of kingly supremacy. The Roman theory of imperial sovereignty was the example needed by the kings in their efforts to suppress the power of the great feudal lords and to resist the pretensions of the papacy to control over temporal powers. No less significant for the growing power of the kingship was a knowledge of the Roman system of taxation and fiscal administration.

New careers in church and state service. — The space which has been devoted to describing the social changes which occurred in Europe during the period from the eleventh to the fifteenth century will appear

justifiable only if it has served to indicate to us that during that period there had come into existence a vastly changed society which made advancing demands upon education. The increase of population, the growth of trade and manufacturing, the development of towns, the extension of the king's administration, the multiplication of legal business, the vitality of the papal hierarchy — all these are factors which called for better trained men to fill the administrative, ecclesiastical, and judicial posts



Courtesy of Professor David Eugene Smith

Fig. 36. — A business receipt in Latin giving the amount in terms of *libra*, *solidi*, and *denarii*, dated 18 June, 1415. This document shows the persistence into the fifteenth century of the use of Latin for business records.

which the social demand created. Not only were better educated men needed, but many more of them could be absorbed into the increasingly elaborate machinery of social control. Besides the positions in the king's service or in the church administration, private careers began to open up in the practice of law or medicine and for those studiously inclined there were opportunities as teachers in school or university.

It is to be remembered that during the period which we are considering the administration, not

only of the business and legal affairs of the church, but of the kings as well, was almost exclusively carried on by men who were enrolled in clerical orders. They were tonsured and wore clerical garb. The kings employed clerics for their civil service for the reason that at a time when kings' treasuries were difficult to fill and keep filled, there were a great many church positions to which the kings held the right of appointment, and a clerk could be assigned an ecclesiastical "living" in lieu of other salary.

As we examine further into the educational conditions of the latter Middle Ages we shall be impressed with the practical nature of the educational regime. Boys went to school and men went to the university to get an education that would have immediate utilitarian value. The most popular study by far in the universities was law, because it led most directly to preferment in church or state.

Let us turn now to consider the ways and means through which medieval society met its educational needs and through which boys and youth and men found their way into profitable life careers.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. ROBINSON, J. H., *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, Ginn and Co., 1903, Chs. X-XXI; or
2. ADAMS, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, Scribner, 1905, Chs. X-XIV; or
3. THORNDIKE, L., *The History of Mediaeval Europe*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, Chs. XVI-XXX. — Give a more extended and detailed treatment of the topics touched upon in the foregoing chapter.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNIVERSITIES AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

The first stage in the recovery of the classical heritage. — For the first five centuries after the fall of Rome, Europe had been able to supply its intellectual needs by recourse to the meager and desiccated knowledge contained in the compendia and summaries prepared in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. In the eleventh century new social conditions had arisen which called for more knowledge and improved techniques, with the result that a restless search was instituted and not given over until the desired materials were at hand. To a very great extent the new knowledge and power thus sought for and found were taken out of the treasury prepared in classical antiquity through the labors of Greek scholars and thinkers and Roman institution builders.

In considerable part this heritage lay close at hand. The knowledge of Roman law had never completely disappeared in any part of western Europe, although it was for a long time known exclusively through the little textbook, the *Institutes*, which was prepared at the order of Justinian, or through some of the barbarian codes. However, somewhere in the cities of northern Italy there had been preserved copies of the entire Code of Justinian including the great

Digest which contained the philosophy of the law as set forth in the writings of the classical jurists. The exigencies of Italian politics or the increasing demands of business led to the rediscovery and the revived use of this great library of legal science as early as the eleventh century, and before the middle of the twelfth century it was being regularly used as the subject of instruction in the Italian schools of law where its most distinguished exponent was Irnerius (1067-1138), professor of law in the University of Bologna.

The recovery of the knowledge of classical medicine must have proceeded in much the same way as that of the civil law. Rashdall (*Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*) says that in the tenth century Salerno in southern Italy was celebrated for the skill of its physicians and that in the first half of the twelfth century the medical school there was described by Ordericus Vitalis as "existing from ancient times." No external cause for the revival of this knowledge of medicine, such as possible contact with Saracen doctors, can be found, and the probable explanation is that the works of Hippocrates and Galen had never been lost sight of in that part of Europe. It is necessary to add, however, that the works of the great Greek physicians were subsequently supplemented by the medical knowledge, theories, and practices of the Arabs.

When we come to theology, we may recall the large dependence which came to be placed upon the philosophy of Aristotle, who was also the mainstay of the instruction given in the Faculty of Arts. For

the recovery of Aristotle, recourse was had to the Saracens and to Constantinople as has already been said in another connection.

The only important part of the medieval university curriculum that was not thus recovered from classical antiquity by one route or another was the body of canon law. This was the law which governed procedure in the ecclesiastical courts and the great textbook on the subject was the *Decretum*, prepared by a Bolognese monk, Gratian, and published about the middle of the twelfth century. The full name of the work is *Harmony of Conflicting Canons* and it represents the effort to bring together on disputed points of ecclesiastical law the various authorities pro and con with a final indication of the side on which the best authorities stood. This book was the foundation of instruction in canon law to the same extent that the *Digest* of Justinian was in the civil law. The materials of instruction in this field were supplemented by the papal decretals and rescripts which had come out after the publication of Gratian's work.

The influence of Mohammedan culture and civilization. — Certainly one of the forces which needs to be taken into account in the revival of the intellectual life of western Europe in the eleventh century is its contact with the Mohammedans in Spain and the Near East. While it is possible that the entire classical heritage might have been recovered without recourse to the Saracens, it is also rather certain that such recovery would have been considerably delayed. The example of a great civilization which was making

daily use of a range of intellectual and practical skills of which the West was ignorant must have operated as a powerful stimulus to the more backward race. Besides, the Arabs had been persistent borrowers from Eastern cultures such as the Chinese and the Hindu, and had applied their own genius in the testing, correcting, and the elaboration of the scientific knowledge which they had come by, so that the culture to which they introduced Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was at once something less and something more than the learning of classical antiquity.

Although not all the Mohammedans were persons of culture nor were all the caliphs protectors of learning, it is clear that Bagdad, the capital of the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258), was for centuries one of the greatest centers of trade and learning in the world, quite surpassing any contemporary city of Western Christendom. The Saracen rule of Spain was especially enlightened and friendly to learning and its capital, Cordova, was for long a great center of science and teaching. When Europe was passing through the hardships of the Norse invasions and when its scholarship was insignificant, its commerce stagnant, its enjoyment of the comforts and amenities of life at a shockingly low level, the cities of Islam were humming with trade and industry, its wealthy inhabitants were surrounded with comfort and luxury, there was an abundance of schools and books, and a multitude of learned teachers, doctors, and scientists.

The Mohammedan Arabs had made their first con-

tact with learning when they overran Syria and Egypt in the seventh century. In the cities of those regions the Graeco-Roman culture lived on and in particular the Nestorian Christians of Syria were devoted to Greek philosophy. The Mohammedan conquerors were friendly to learning and in the course of time assimilated much of the Greek culture into their own civilization. Their bent seemed to lie, on the one hand, in the direction of metaphysical speculation and, on the other hand, in the direction of science. The Greek astronomical science, which we have seen as in a high state of development in the early Christian era (see p. 93), was taken up by the Arabs and developed largely in the direction of astrology. The same mystical tendency was seen in their development of alchemy, a sort of magical chemistry. This susceptibility to the occult was exhibited also in the Arabian medicine. The rationalizing of their religion by aid of Greek metaphysics progressed rapidly and far in the ninth and tenth centuries, but a conservative reaction ultimately led to the discouragement of "higher criticism" of the Koran in Bagdad. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the region under Moslem rule which was most friendly to science and philosophy was the Caliphate of Cordova in what is now the Spanish peninsula. The Arabian scholars had borrowed the Hindu system of notation and under the stimulus of a superior number system had greatly forwarded their knowledge of mathematics. The word algebra as well as the superior arithmetical practices which they followed were passed on by the Arabs to Europe as

the result of the intercourse between the two civilizations which became more and more lively after about the year eleven hundred. We shall see that the works of Arabian physicians, astronomers, physicists, and philosophers became known to the scholars of the medieval universities and were used as a part of the material of instruction. To a considerable extent, also, the scholars of the West were indebted to the Saracens for aid in the first full recovery of the works of the great philosopher Aristotle.

Translations from the Greek and the Arabic. — The twelfth century is notable for the industry of the translators who made available in the Latin, which was the universal learned language of Europe, the materials of learning which were locked up in the Greek and Arabic tongues. There were three important centers of contact with the Greek and Arabic learning. One of these was the cities of northern Italy, which were in direct touch with Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, through their commercial enterprises. The second was Spain, where the Christians mingled with Mohammedans, particularly in Toledo, Barcelona, Tarazona, and other cities which had been wrested from the former Mohammedan possessors. The third was the court of the kings of Sicily, which was the meeting point of the Greek, Arabic, Teutonic, and Latin cultures. Simultaneously in these three centers translators were active during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in making available to Western Christendom the superior intellectual resources of the Byzantine Empire and of the Arabic civilization.

In 1128, James of Venice, whose work may be taken as representative of the contributions of the Italian commercial centers, put at the disposal of Western scholars the complete logic of Aristotle. Thirty years later the astronomical system of Ptolemy (see p. 93) as contained in his *Almagest* was rendered into Latin by an anonymous translator from a Greek manuscript brought direct from Constantinople. In the latter half of the twelfth century, Burgundio the Pisan translated numerous theological works from the Greek as well as considerable portions of the Greek medicine as contained in the writings of Hippocrates and Galen. In addition to the books named, there was a great deal more of direct translation from the Greek which gave to European scholars the greater part of Greek science and philosophy.

Of the long list of translators from the Arabic in Spain we shall name only a few with their contributions. An Englishman, Adelard of Bath, traveled not only in Spain, but all over the Mediterranean world and possibly in Arabia, collecting scientific works and rendering them into Latin. He translated the great work of Euclid, the *Elements*, important astronomical tables of the great Arabian scholar al-Khwarizmi, and other scientific works. A second important translator from the Arabic was Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187), whose most important contributions were the Latin rendering of Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Robert of Chester in the same century made available in Latin the algebra of al-Khwarizmi. From Spain came

translations of the metaphysical and scientific works of Aristotle in the early part of the thirteenth century and of a great many scientific works in which the Greek science and mathematics has undergone adaptation and development at the hands of Arab philosophers and scientists.

The third great source of contact with the Graeco-Arabic world of thought and knowledge, the court of the kings of Sicily, may be thought of as a point at which the Western World came into most intimate experience of the superior cultivation of the East. King Roger, for his known critical attitudes in matters of religion and his preferences for Arabic learning, was called "a baptized Sultan." His court and those of his successors were in close intercourse with the Mohammedan rulers of the Mediterranean littoral. Philosophers and astrologers familiar with the eastern lore were maintained by royal bounty and many important Arabic works on astronomy, physics, mathematics, and philosophy were added to Western learning through the translations made by the royal pensioners in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

One of the most important contributions to Western science made through these translations from the Arabic was the superior system of arithmetic which the Arabs had taken from the Hindus and perfected. Although it was a long time after the first knowledge of the Arabic arithmetic was gained in Europe before the older Boethian system was displaced in universities and in commercial life, yet the publication of the *Liber Abaci* of Leonard of

Pisa in 1202, in which the Arabic system, or the algorism, was described, must be considered an important point in the history of Western education. Shortly afterwards an Englishman, John of Holywood (c. 1200–1256), or Sacrobosco as he is more commonly called, treated the same subject in his *Algorismus*. Jordanus Nemorarius (d.c. 1236), a Dominican monk, also prepared textbooks on arithmetic and algebra which were much used in universities.

The progress that had been made in the acquisition of Graeco-Arabic science and mathematics in the thirteenth century is shown in the fact that Roger Bacon, the English Franciscan friar (1214–1294), without going to Spain or the Near East, had access to the most significant part of the mathematical, logical, and scientific works of the ancient Greeks and the modern Arabs. The interest of Roger Bacon in science and mathematics, as contrasted with the predominant interest of the university men of his day in philosophical or legal studies, his preference for direct observation and the experimental method, and his long career of persecution and imprisonment at the hands of orthodox churchmen who looked upon his physical experiments as black magic, combine to make him an exceptional and unexpectedly modern figure in the thirteenth century.

The new science in the universities. — For one to draw the conclusion, from the mere fact of availability of all the new scientific knowledge in the thirteenth century, that it found its way to any considerable extent into university instruction, would

be a capital error. As will be shown below, the predominant academic interest of the times was in theology and law and formal logic, for which reason the subjects of the *quadrivium* continued to be of very secondary concern. The new arithmetic, or algorism, tended either to displace the Boethian arithmetic of tradition or at least to find a position beside it. The first six books of Euclid were commonly required for the Master of Arts degree. For astronomy, Aristotle's work *De Coelo* ("Concerning the Heavens") was quite generally made the subject of lectures, while the "modern" astronomy of the Ptolemaic system was given to the student through such a work as Sacrobosco, *On the Sphere*. Other works of a scientific nature were included, chiefly from among the writings of Aristotle, for the Master's degree. But all these scientific subjects occupied a subordinate position. They were classed as "extraordinary" or "cursory" courses and were regarded as of secondary importance. Not infrequently various subterfuges were resorted to which made attendance on them unnecessary, as, for example, the student could take oath that he had attended the one hundred lectures in mathematics required for the Master's degree at Paris some time before 1366, if he had read one whole book on the subject and started another.¹

It was not until the fifteenth century that any vitality was to be discovered in the mathematical and scientific aspects of the Arts course. At that time, particularly in the University of Vienna, the

¹ See Paetow, L. J., *The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities*, p. 8.

University of Prague, and certain German universities, there occurred a decided revival of interest in mathematics and its applications to physics, mechanics, and astronomy.

The university as a professional school. — One must be impressed with the predominance of professional subject matter in the first important requisition which Europe made upon the learning of classical antiquity. The practical interest is visible throughout. The medieval universities organized instruction under four professional faculties — theology, civil law, canon law, and medicine — and the work of the fifth faculty, that of arts, was so subordinated to mastering the universal tool of professional study, namely, formal logic, that its utilitarian bent was hardly less pronounced than that of the others.

In the *Faculty of Theology*, the only books that were made the subject of regular study were the *Bible* and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (c. 1100–c. 1160). This latter famous work, like the *Sic et Non* of Abelard of the generation preceding, was a collection of authoritative utterances from the Bible and the Church Fathers as they bore upon points of Christian doctrine. It was universally used as a text in theology and was as much commented upon by theologians as was the *Bible* itself. The study of the *Bible* and the *Sentences* came early in the theological course, the later years being spent in the practice of logical disputation upon controversial questions.

In the *Faculty of Civil Law*, the sole subject of

study and exposition was the various parts of the Justinian Code, of which the most important part by far was the *Digest*. (See p. 220.) It should be added that, as the legislation of the developing nation-states became important, there was a tendency to introduce its study into the Law Faculty. At the University of Montpellier a collection of feudal laws, the *Usus Feudorum*, was studied, and at Bologna the decrees of the emperors were gradually introduced into the curriculum. Generally speaking, however, the modern developments of law were neglected in the universities, which continued to devote themselves almost exclusively to the Justinian codification at a time when national laws had undergone great development and when court practice differed materially from the classical canon.

The *Faculty of Canon Law*, as has been said above, expended its energies on the *Decretum* of Gratian and the papal decrees which appeared after that work was published.

In the *Faculty of Medicine* the basis of study was the works of the great Greek medical writers, Hippocrates and Galen, and these were supplemented by the writings of famous Arab and Jewish physicians. The first university which showed to any considerable extent the Arabian influence was the University of Montpellier in southern France. A bull of Clement IV (1309) throws light on the medical course at Montpellier. The works of Galen and Hippocrates, as is to be expected, formed the groundwork of the course of study. Beside them stood Constantinus Africanus, whose original works and translations

from the Arabic were studied. The Arabian influence was further introduced through the study of the works of Rhazes (850-953) — who had been a doctor in Bagdad — Avicenna, Isaac, and Johannicus. In some sense the Arabian influence was disadvantageous as, along with new scientific information particularly in the field of medical botany, it introduced a tendency toward mystical theory and the application of alchemistic and astrological fancies. Medical science was taught almost exclusively as didactic exposition, although some progress was made at Montpellier in surgery. This particular branch of medicine was developed almost entirely under Christian auspices as the Mohammedan religion forbade the dissection of the human body. In 1363 Guy de Chauliac, a professor in the University of Montpellier, published a significant work, called *Grande Chirurgie*, which was based on practice and observation. The statutes of Montpellier for 1340 provided for a dissection every two years, which was made quite a social event in the community. Even in the sixteenth century dissections seldom took place oftener than once a year.

The curriculum of the *Faculty of Arts* was mainly devoted to the mastery of formal logic. The degree in Arts, or at least several years of study in that faculty, was ordinarily expected as a condition to entrance upon the work of the professional faculties, and as the methods of instruction in those higher faculties made almost exclusive use of the method of logical analysis or disputation, formal logic became the great “tool subject” and the mastery

of logic became the chief objective of the lower faculty.

The oldest course of study of the University of Paris dates from 1215. It called for the study in the Faculty of Arts of all of Aristotle's logic, which means the method of deductive reasoning, the theory of the syllogism and of demonstration. Beside the mastery of the rules of abstract reasoning was placed the study of abstract laws of language structure as given in the grammar of Priscian. These two subjects composed the "ordinary" courses and formed the backbone of all instruction in Arts. In the "extraordinary" courses, which ranked as secondary in the interest of students and masters, were included another assignment of formal logic in the *Topics* of Boethius, a grammatical work by Donatus which dealt with grammatical figures, and the *Ethics* of Aristotle. Instruction was also to be given in the subjects of the *quadrivium* — arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy — but no textbooks were assigned in those studies. By 1252, when the entire body of Aristotle's works had been recovered in the West and after the original prejudice felt toward his works by the church had passed, besides the works named in the course for 1215, were included a great many of the scientific treatises of the Master. In spite, however, of the inclusion of a considerable list of scientific works, which covered the field of the *quadrivium*, there can be no doubt that the main, almost the exclusive, interest of the teachers and students in the Faculty of Arts was the mastery of formal logic. Let us try to discover more

specifically just why this subject was so heavily stressed.

The method of study and teaching in medieval universities. — The medieval student was almost entirely dependent upon authorities. Original investigation and the historical method were unknown



Fig. 38. — Lectures in a medieval university. From a fourteenth century manuscript. Original in the National Bureau of Engravings, Berlin.

quantities as far as he was concerned. Such originality as he exercised came in the course of his rearrangement of accepted authorities and in the effort made to reconcile their conflicting points of view. If any point was to be proved, it had to be done through the convincing arrangement of statements or propo-

sitions taken from among the recognized sources of truth.

There may be some cause for wonder at the possibilities of divergence of opinion when all were dependent upon the same authorities, but that wonder may be dissipated when we consider the nature of the authorities. When one deals with geometrical axioms, deductive proof is exact. Out of given conditions only one conclusion may be drawn. But when one draws upon the whole array of Church Fathers, Aristotle, the books of the *Bible*, the decrees of church councils, the bulls of the popes, and what not besides, for the propositions which one assembles, the possibilities of variety are almost infinite.

Perhaps the closest analogy to medieval reasoning from authorities that is going on in active process to-day is the reasoning of the lawyers and judges in a case at law. When a suit is brought over some point, provided there are honest lawyers on both sides, there is a fighting chance for victory on either side. The case is one which does not exactly correspond to any other that has been decided. In its details there are some points which make it analogous to cases that have been decided in favor of the plaintiff, but in other respects the case is like others which have been decided the other way. It is the business of the lawyer on each side to make his case appear most like the entire array of cases that have been decided to favor the contention of his client and to build up as strong an array of authority on his side as possible. The decision of the court in such a case

is not a routine, imitative act, but one that in turn becomes precedent and is regarded as adding something to the entire body of legal authority. In much the same way the divergence of possible authorities gave the medieval disputant opportunity to make good his claim.



Fig. 39. — St. Thomas Aquinas as painted by Fra Angelico in a fresco on the walls of the Monastery of San Marco, Florence, Italy.

In illustration of the medieval method may be taken the argument of St. Thomas Aquinas on the extremely vital question as to whether heretics should be tolerated or not. (The quotations which follow are from the *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, III, No. 6.) Taking first the rôle of “devil’s advocate,” he gives arguments taken from the Bible which seem to favor toleration.

It would appear that heretics are to be tolerated for the Apostle says (2 Timothy ii. 24), *The Lord's servant must be gentle, in meekness, correcting them that oppose themselves to the truth; if peradventure God may give them repentance and the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil.* But if heretics are not tolerated but delivered over unto death, they are deprived of the opportunity of repentance. Hence this would seem contrary to the precept of the Apostle. [Two other propositions are given in the same vein. Then comes an ominous] *But* against this is to be urged the saying of the Apostle (Titus, iii. 10) *A man that is heretical after a first and second admonition, refuse, knowing that he is perverted.* [At this point Aquinas deserts his authorities altogether and says]: I reply that heretics must be considered from two points of view, namely, as regards the heretic himself, and secondly, as regards the Church. As for the heretics themselves, there is their sin for which they deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but to be sent out of the world by death. It is, indeed, a much more serious offense to corrupt the faith, upon which depends the life of the soul than to falsify coin, by means of which the temporal life is sustained. Hence if counterfeiters and other malefactors are justly harried to death by secular rulers, much the more may those who are convicted of heresy not only be excommunicated but justly put to a speedy death.

This decision is further backed up by quotations from the Bible and the Canon Law. In conclusion of the argument, Aquinas returns in rebuttal to the points made in favor of toleration at the beginning and by explanations, also authoritatively supported, he shows their weakness and inapplicability to the issue in question.

To many modern readers it might seem that Aquinas had decided the issue concerning the toleration of heretics quite at variance with the weight of proof. They might say with considerable justice

that the whole argument might be reversed and the bias of personal opinion thrown in at the end to bring about a decision exactly contrary to the one which Aquinas made. They might even go so far as to think that the whole exercise was intellectually insincere — that the case was decided before it was brought and that all the show of judicial caution was mere camouflage to create the impression of impartial judgment.

The truth seems to be, not that Aquinas was intellectually insincere, advocate though he was for his client, the church, but rather that his major premises were strongly conditioned by the dominant intellectual prepossessions of his age, — in which respect he was hardly different from other philosophers, past and present, or even from the mythical unprejudiced reader.

However, not only in the instance quoted above but in the intellectual life of the medieval university in general there seems to have been a great deal of special pleading. One group of authorities would decide an issue in favor of their client, the pope, while another group of equally good authorities on the same evidence and law would decide the issue in favor of their client, the king. With lawyers and theologians holding briefs in favor of one client or another — pope, king, city, university, *parlement*, or church — it seems that all too inevitably they saw the weight of authority as pointing in the direction of self-interest.

The deficiencies of scholasticism as intellectual method. — The intellectual methods followed in the

medieval universities have come to be described under the name of scholasticism. With the general nature of those methods we must by now be familiar, as we have observed the complete dependence of the schoolmen upon authorities and have noted as well the characteristic methods which they employed in working over their materials.

It must be admitted that the weakness of this system was more evident in some intellectual provinces than in others. When the professor of civil law, for example, took a doubtful legal issue as his point of departure, brought out the locus of the difficulty, supported each side with the best authorities available, and drew his conclusions on the basis of the probable weight of authority, he was following a very effective means of legal instruction, which recalls to us its close analogy with the contemporary methods of case study in American law schools. An alternative method of instruction which consisted of the comprehensive and detailed logical analysis of the law book, chapter by chapter, was not quite so enlightened. However, the main deficiency which developed in connection with the university instruction in civil law was that as the centuries rolled by the professors continued to give the same instruction without taking account of the fact that modern codes had developed in the European countries which varied in important details from the Roman system. As a result the university courses came to be regarded by the practical lawyer more or less as an academic luxury. The real training for practice in the courts had to be secured in another way,

quite outside of the university classroom, through apprenticeship under a practicing lawyer.

The extreme development of scholastic method came in the field of theology, and it is in connection with the arid mental gymnastics of the medieval theologian that its weakness became most pronounced. The pursuit of metaphysics has always led to hair-splitting distinctions and a bizarre technical vocabulary and this tendency was all the more evident under the conditions of medieval speculation. Limited, on the one hand, by a lack of historical perspective and by restricted authorities, and oppressed, on the other hand, by the necessity of operating within the narrow field of orthodoxy, the philosophical thought of the universities over a period of almost five centuries was almost bound to be fantastic and sterile.

It ought to be pointed out, however, that some of the philosophic exercises of the schoolmen seem on the surface to be more banal than they really were. Much merriment has been occasioned over the seriousness with which the schoolmen disputed upon such a question, for example, as How many angels can stand on the point of a needle? In reality that question placed in conjunction in a commendably pictorial and concrete fashion a number of fundamental philosophic issues. The nature of the angels was involved—were they corporeal or incorporeal? A further question came in regarding the nature of the geometric point. Still another difficulty had to be considered, and that probably the most baffling of all—what is the relationship be-

tween incorporeal or spiritual substance and material substance, or what contact does spiritual substance have with space. If the problems were abstruse and subject to constant reiteration without satisfactory solution, at least they were presented in an interesting, almost jovial, formula.

No one else has ever described the methods of the medieval theologian nor the deficiencies of his methods so well as Francis Bacon, whose classical indictment, occurring in *The Advancement of Learning* deserves to be quoted in full.

The second disease of learning which followeth is in nature worse than the former: for as substance of matter is better than beauty of words, so contrariwise vain matter is worse than vain words: wherein it seemeth the reprehension of Saint Paul was not only proper for those times, but propheticall for the times following; and not only respective to divinity, but extensive to all knowledge: *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae*.¹ For he assigneth two marks and badges of suspected and falsified science: the one, the novelty and strangeness of the terms; the other, the strictness of positions, which of necessity doth induce oppositions, and so questions and altercations. Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrify and corrupt into worms; so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen: who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries

¹ "Avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called." 1 Timothy, vi. 20.

and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance of profit.

The administration of the university.— So far the word university has been used to describe the medieval centers of higher education in an untechnical sense, rather following present usage of the term. In medieval parlance, however, the word university (*universitas*) was applied to any corporate association or group, such as a guild. Medieval usage spoke of “the university of bricklayers” just as it spoke of the “university of masters of theology” or “the university of students of civil law.” The word university then applied simply to the corporate or organized groups of teachers and students. The word which indicated the fact that the university was an institution of learning was *studium*, or more particularly *studium generale*. A *studium generale* was one which received students from all parts, and after the thirteenth century the term came to apply only to those *studia* which held charters from the emperor or the pope. Ratification of its rights by one of the two powers of Christendom which enjoyed universal jurisdiction was considered to be necessary if its degree was to be universally accepted as giving the holder a right to teach.

The earliest of the universities, such as Paris and Bologna, had an informal development which extends back beyond any written record of its course. Since association for mutual protection was the common thing in the eleventh century, as shown in the growth of towns and guilds, it was but natural that the teachers of a given city should form an association, or guild, the chief purpose of which was to control admission to their number. Only those should be admitted to the guild of masters who had shown themselves fit, and only those might teach in the town who had been so admitted. In its origin the idea of university examinations, which came so completely to dominate higher education in the Middle Ages, as indeed it has all of Western education ever since, was to provide a test of fitness for the privilege of teaching. The degree was essentially a license to teach.

If the development of guilds of teachers represented an eleventh century novelty, there continued in force from the earlier times the exclusive right of the local bishop, through his chancellor, or the *scholasticus*, or an archdeacon, to determine upon the fitness of all teachers within his jurisdiction. Thus in Paris, the right of licensing all teachers belonged to the Chancellor of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and in Bologna to the Archdeacon of Bologna. The point was one that gave a great deal of trouble during the earlier history of the universities, but eventually the examinations were conducted almost entirely by the masters and the license was forthcoming from the ecclesiastical authority as a matter of

course. The traditional connection with the church was also the reason why all students were clerics, dressed as clerics, and were amenable to ecclesiastical rather than civil law.

A striking difference between medieval and contemporary American universities was that in the former there were no boards of trustees. Each university, according to its charter rights, enjoyed self-government. To be sure, there were no expensive plants in those days with laboratories, libraries, shops, and buildings. No scientific investigation was carried on. The books needed were kept on hand by the official *stationarius*, or bookseller, who rented or sold them at need. For that matter, each student owned only a very few books at any time and the professor's library was probably not extensive. The lectures were conducted at first in rented rooms, with a desk for the teacher and a supply of straw on the floor for the students to sit upon. However, as the university came to own its buildings and to house collections of books, its legal powers as a corporation were adequate to cover the ownership of property.

It is impossible to speak in a general way about the administration of the medieval universities except as concerns some few characteristics. The University of Paris differed in many important ways from the University of Bologna, and while the University of Oxford developed largely out of a migration from the University of Paris, its organization even at the beginning differed considerably from that of the mother institution. We can say that the teachers of

each of the schools of Arts, Theology, Civil Law, Canon Law, and Medicine had their own guild, or faculty, and that all degrees were given in a particular faculty rather than at large. The tendency was also that the faculties should organize with an administrative officer, as spokesman or official representative, called the dean.

Still a further basis of internal organization of the universities was the division of masters and students on geographical or political lines. Such organizations were called nations. In Paris, membership in the nations, of which there were four, was limited to masters of the Arts Faculty. While in Bologna, where there were finally only two nations, they were composed of students. The Italian universities, which in general followed the lead of Bologna, present the peculiar anomaly of having their general administration almost entirely in the hands of students. The students determined the subjects upon which lectures should be given, bargained with the teachers regarding their salaries, held them up to a strict performance of their duties, and, with the exception of matters connected with the degree, controlled the entire institutional life. The important rôle played by the students in Italy was probably due to the fact of their maturity in age, as most of them were students of law, whereas the dominance of the Masters of Arts in Paris and most northern universities came about as the result of their numbers as compared with the masters of the professional schools and on account of the relative immaturity of the great body of Arts students. In Paris, a proc-

tor was elected head of each nation and a rector chosen by the nations was the recognized head of the university.

Degrees. — If the degree was a license to teach and as such a certificate of admission to the guild of teachers, the preliminary stages which the student passed through in achieving it no less closely corresponded to the stages of admission to any other guild. Each faculty gave its own degree, and in each faculty there were recognized stages in the progress toward that degree. In each faculty there was a period of preliminary general study and the passing of a test of fitness. This stage was followed by a period in which the student was both student and teacher. During this time he continued his studies along advancing lines and also gave some of the elementary instruction in the faculty. The final stage was reached when he had passed his examinations, received his license from the chancellor or other representative of the church, and had incepted, or been received by the masters as a member of their professional guild.

In the Faculty of Arts of the University of Paris it had become by the year 1279 a compulsory part of the academic régime for every aspirant to the Master's degree to take part in an exercise called "determining," which meant the defense of a thesis against an opponent. The successful candidate became a "bachelor" and in time the baccalaurate came to be regarded as an inferior degree. After five or six years of study in all, the student was admitted to the final examination for the degree

of Master of Arts. In 1215, at Paris, a student had to be at least twenty years of age for that degree, and in a decree of 1275, the age of fourteen was fixed as the minimum age for the baccalaureate in Arts.

The terms master, doctor, and professor were all used to indicate the possession of a degree. The

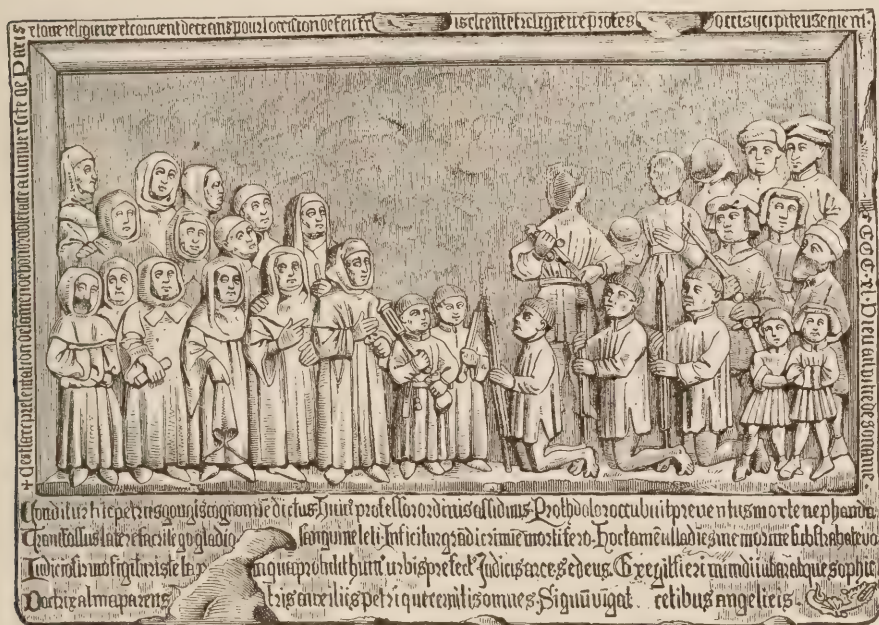


Fig. 40. — The sergeants of the provosts of Paris apologizing in 1440 for having infringed the privileges of the clergy and the University. From a stone now at the School of Fine Arts, Paris. Taken from Lacroix, *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*, Bickers and Son, London.

Master of Arts held the degree from the Faculty of Arts, the Doctor of Civil Law from the Faculty of Civil Law, but usage varied considerably regarding the terminology adopted.

Privileges enjoyed by universities. — Many of the special privileges which the universities and their members enjoyed were due to the fact that the

scholar was regarded as a cleric, and hence was eligible to many of the privileges of the clergy. The right of a student to be tried in an ecclesiastical court, often in the university itself, was one of these. The exemption of the university and its clients from taxation and exemption from military service,

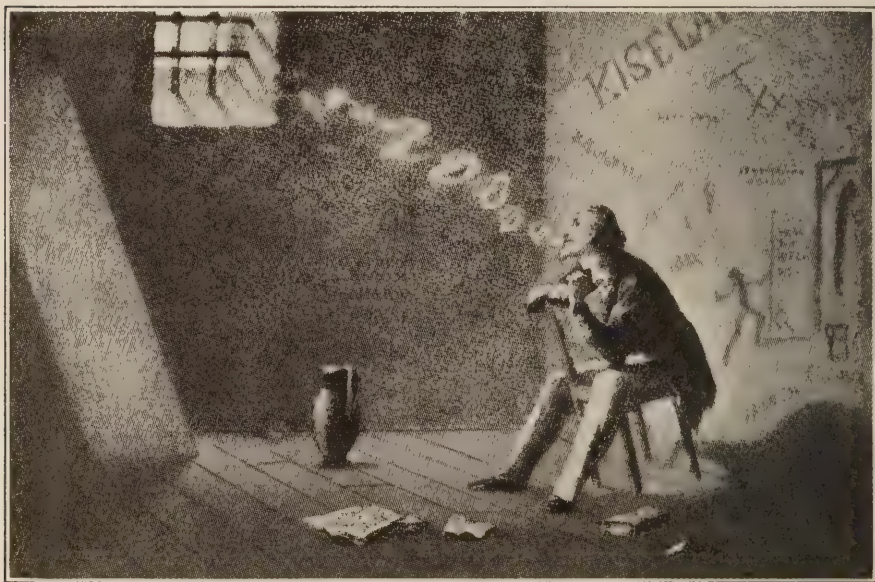


Fig. 41. — A nineteenth century representation of the student jail in a German university. This survival recalls the civil jurisdiction enjoyed by the universities over their students in the Middle Ages. Taken from *Auf Deutschlands Hohen Schulen*, Hans Ludwig Thilo, Berlin, 1900.

except under special circumstances, were likewise related to the clerical status. An important right which many universities enjoyed was the right of stopping lectures — *cessatio* — in case of some disagreement with the local authorities. This was frequently resorted to and usually proved an effective means of securing redress from the offending officials.

Colleges. — A word deserves to be said concerning the development of colleges within the universities for its importance in relation to subsequent developments of secondary education. A college was originally nothing more than an endowed home in which poor students might find board and lodging. The example probably was given by the provision of houses for the friars who were studying in the university centers. One of the greatest colleges of Paris was founded by Robert de Sorbonne, about the year 1257, for sixteen students of theology. The terms of the foundation provided that the scholars profiting should all be members of the secular clergy, in the hope that something might be done to keep the friars from gaining complete control of the Faculty of Theology. As time went on the entire work of the theological faculty came to center in the College of Sorbonne.

If philanthropic motives started the movement toward college foundations, there were other causes that contributed to its prosperity. Chief among these was the tender age of many of the students in the Faculty of Arts. If they were allowed to "determine" at the age of fourteen and to graduate at twenty, many of the Artists must have been too young to profit by the uncontrolled freedom of a university town. It proved to be a great advantage to have the younger boys in a house where they could be looked after by a master who had some authority over them. In the course of time more and more of the instruction of the Arts course came to be given in the various colleges. The masters would come to



Fig. 42. — New College, Oxford, as it was in the fifteenth century, shown by drawings in the manuscript of Thomas Chandler, Warden of New College. The warden in the center is flanked right and left by the fellows of the College wearing the doctor's caps. In front of the fellows are the students, who show by their tonsured heads and their garb the religious affiliations of education in the fifteenth century. The small boys in the foreground are choristers.

the college instead of having the students go to the university halls. Ultimately the full course for the Arts degree was given in some of the larger colleges under university masters, while the degree continued to be given by the Faculty of Arts.

In the English universities the development of the college system not only involved the separation of instruction from the university in general but placed the administration of the universities in the hands of the colleges. The English universities thus became loose confederations of autonomous colleges, with the corporate functions of the university reduced to a minimum.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. RASHDALL, H., *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895. — A scholarly and interesting work which has long been standard in the field. Deals with the origins, the administration, the studies, and the student life of the medieval universities.

2. COMPAYRÉ, G., *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities*, Scribner, 1893. — Contains a brief sketch of the life of Abelard and an entertaining and sound account of university studies and administration.

3. LAURIE, S. S., *The Rise and Constitution of Universities*, D. Appleton and Co., 1903. — Although old, continues in the main to be a reliable account of the subject.

4. HASKINS, C. H., *The Rise of Universities*, Henry Holt & Co., 1923. — Three lectures dealing with the rise and administration of the medieval universities, the university curriculum, and the life of the medieval student.

5. RAIT, R. S., *Life in the Medieval University*, Cambridge University Press, 1912. — Brief, but based on extensive study of original sources.

6. ABELSON, P., *The Seven Liberal Arts*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, New York City, 1906. — Throws much light on the curriculum of schools and universities in the later Middle Ages. Is particularly useful for its treatment of the advance in the scientific subjects.

7. DAWSON, J. C., *Toulouse in the Renaissance*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1923, Part II and SEYBOLT, R. F., *The Manuale Scholarium*, Harvard University Press, 1921. — Are useful for the light they throw upon the extracurricular activities of the medieval student.

8. McCABE, J., *Peter Abelard*, Putnam, 1902. — A readable account of the life and works of one of the most interesting figures of the early Middle Ages.

9. NORTON, A. O., *Readings in the History of Education: Medieval Universities*, Harvard University Press, 1909. — A systematic narrative richly illustrated with source materials.

10. PAETOW, L. J., *The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities*, University of Illinois Press, 1910. — A study from original sources of university instruction in grammar and rhetoric.

11. HASKINS, C. H., *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Harvard University Press, 1924. Chs. I, VIII, and XII. — A description of the work of the translators from the Greek and Arabic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

12. SMITH, D. E., *History of Mathematics*, Ginn and Co., 1923. Vol. I., Ch. VI. — Describes the development of mathematics in Europe from 1000 to 1500 A.D.

13. SEDGWICK, W. T. and TYLER, H. W., *A Short History of Science*, Macmillan Co., 1917, Chs. VIII and IX. A brief account of Hindu and Arabic science and of the progress of science in Europe to 1450.

CHAPTER XII

MEDIEVAL GRAMMAR AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

ALTHOUGH it is impossible to make any valid quantitative statement concerning the supply of lower schools during the later Middle Ages, there is abundant testimony to the fact that the development of the universities had its parallel in a multiplication of schools of lower grade. The social conditions which led in so many instances to the development of universities out of cathedral schools, as in Paris, or out of private schools, as at Bologna, stimulated the activities of existing grammar schools and led to the development not only of new schools but of whole new classes of schools. Some local preparation had to be given the thousands of youths who were frequenting the seats of professional learning, and besides the preparatory function, the local schools were serving a clientele for whom the ability to read and write clerk's Latin was a sure passport to business opportunity. For it must not be forgotten that during this period all important documents such as business accounts, wills, international business correspondence, town records, and deeds were written in Latin. For the most part the humbler civil and ecclesiastical servants could get all the learning that was necessary for the successful conduct of their duties in the grammar school, and cer-

tainly the great mass of attorneys, reeves, acolytes, sacristans, etc., never set foot inside a university classroom.

The grammar school. — If the grammar school is to be regarded from the viewpoint of its preparatory function, its work is seen to have been very definitely conditioned by the nature of the work done in the university Faculty of Arts. Latin was the universal language of higher education. The books to be studied were in Latin, the class exercises were conducted in Latin, and most of the ordinary intercourse of the university community was in the same language. Accordingly, the business of the secondary school was to give the boys who were to enter the university a knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language and its rules of correct usage and a reasonable facility in speaking and writing in that medium.

The objective of the school in the later part of the Middle Ages is thus seen to be identical with its objective in the period which immediately followed the fall of Rome. There is, however, an important distinction to be observed between the schools of the two periods. In the earlier period the whole course of available instruction, higher and lower, was given in an unclassified way in the same institution. With the development, however, of the universities, the upper levels of instruction were greatly raised and were taken care of exclusively in the higher institution, while the work of the schools came to be standardized and limited in its scope. In this way the work of the lower school came to be recognized

as the study of language, with a very small amount of attention to writing and number work. Since the emphasis in language study was largely on the forms of language structure and the elements of composition, the medieval secondary school came to be named the grammar school.

Not a great deal of change from the earlier period in the means of instruction is to be noted. The pupil continued to study the elementary Latin grammar by Donatus, although this book would probably be supplemented by the use of a new grammar written by Alexander de Villa Dei in the thirteenth century. This book, called the *Doctrinale*, was composed in doggerel verse, which must have been an aid to the schoolboy in remembering his Latin rules of syntax. Cato's *Distichs* was a universal favorite for use as a first reader and Aesop's *Fables* in Latin were also employed in this capacity. Considerable effort was expended in learning psalms by heart, after which the schoolboy would be put to reading one of the poetical classics, probably Virgil or Ovid, which were construed in the vernacular. Exercises in parsing and composition completed the list of schoolboy labors.

Grammar schools under new auspices. — If there was little change in the curriculum of the grammar school of the year 1400 from the lower schools of the year 900, there was a very significant development in sources of secondary school supply. The only important agencies in providing schools in the earlier period were the cathedrals and the monasteries. Of these the cathedral schools continued to be an

important factor into the fifteenth century, but the monasteries had apparently declined in their educational activities, as they had lost in popular esteem and bounty. The philanthropic urge was finding new outlets, particularly in the foundation of chantries, hospitals, and collegiate churches and schools. A chantry foundation consisted of an endowment which was intended to pay for the services of one or more priests in praying for the welfare of certain specified souls in purgatory. Ordinarily the proviso was added that in the time free from prayers the chantry priest was to teach a specified number of children free of charge. Many such foundations with their accompanying schools were set up all over Europe during the later Middle Ages and constituted an important addition to the supply of secondary education.

A collegiate church was any large and pretentious church which required and was provided with a considerable clerical staff. Such churches became numerous in this period and in many instances had schools connected with them. More important however than the collegiate church, in which the school was a subsidiary, was the collegiate school in which the main purpose of the foundation was the supply of free tuition to young scholars. Two great examples of this type of school are to be found in Winchester College founded by William of Wyckham in England in 1382 (the date of the foundation charter), and in Eton College, founded at Windsor by King Henry VI in 1440. In the foundation charter of Winchester College, William of Wyckham



Fig. 43. — Winchester College as represented in the Chandler manuscript. The church influence is shown in the tonsure and dress of the teachers who stand at the right and left of the headmaster, front center. The men at the left are pensioners on the collegiate foundation, while the boys at the right are the scholars.

declares his intention of erecting “a college of poor scholars, clerks, near the City of Winchester to consist of seventy poor and needy scholars, clerks, living college-wise in the same, studying and becoming proficient in grammaticals, or the art and science of grammar.” This foundation was noteworthy for

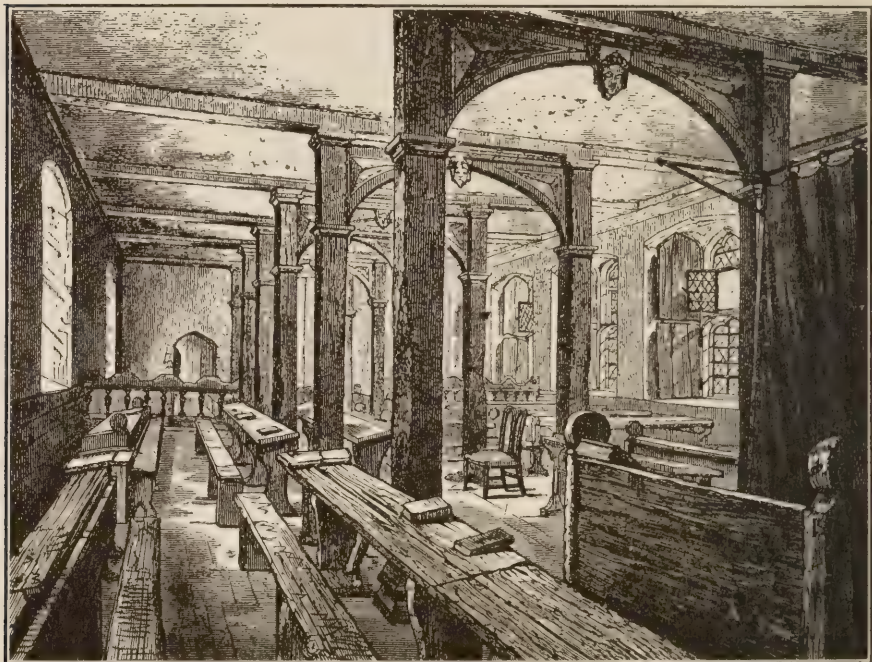


Fig. 44. — Interior of Lower School at Eton, maintained as it was when constructed in the early sixteenth century, except for the rows of double wooden pillars which were added in the seventeenth century. From an engraving by Percy Roberts in H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, The Macmillan Company, London.

the size of its endowment and the number of scholars provided for, also for the fact that the central interest of the benefactor was in the school rather than in the maintenance of religious worship or the support of poor and aged dependents, although both those latter objects were provided for in the charter.

The foundation of Eton followed the lines laid down by William of Wyckham for Winchester. It is to be noted that these two Great Public Schools, standing at the head of the secondary school tradition in England, were founded in the late Middle Ages.

Yet another form of grammar school which the new times created was the school maintained by the guild. We have already noted that the guilds were much more than business organizations, engaging in a rich variety of social activities. Frequently the guild had its own priest, and he was expected to teach school as a side line. But much more formal educational undertakings were fostered by the guilds than is implied in the incidental service of a religious agent. Some of them maintained grammar schools of standard grade and efficiency.

One of the most interesting incidents of the growth of autonomous town life is seen in the conflicts which developed, first of all in the Low Countries but later in the Hanseatic and Rhine towns, between the town fathers and the ecclesiastical authorities over the control of education. The contest was long drawn out and by no means one-sided, but it is clear that in the Low Countries and in parts of Germany a compromise was arrived at whereby, long before the Reformation, grammar schools maintained by the town authorities, or burghers, were an important source of educational supply.

It ought not to be lost sight of that during the same period a new school-founding activity developed within the Catholic Church in connection with the

progress of a new order, The Brethren of the Common Life, or Hieronymians. It is doubtful if the Order was primarily interested in education, but it is a well substantiated fact that schools developed in connection with the houses which it founded. This Order was founded in 1384 at Deventer, Holland, and before the advent of the Humanistic reforms had established nearly fifty houses in the Low Countries and on the Rhine. Erasmus, a great scholar of the sixteenth century, received his early education in one of their schools.

It is easily seen from the array of new agencies that were aiding in the supply of grammar schools, that increased need for education and greater interest in meeting that need were in some very powerful way related to the social and economic changes that had come over European society after the eleventh century.

Elementary Latin schools. — In addition to the grammar schools, in which the boys began with the study of grammar, there existed in the period which we are studying an elementary type of school, sometimes called the Song School, in which beginners were taught to read Latin and sing Latin hymns, but in which no attention was paid either to grammar or translation. In Chaucer's *Prioress' Tale*, a little boy in the Song School is represented as asking an older boy to tell him the meaning of the *Alma redemptoris* as he heard it being sung. The older boy could not translate the words of the chant to him, saying, "I lerne song, I can but small gram-mere." In many of the smaller and poorer schools

the elementary and grammar school instruction was given by the same master.

Vernacular elementary schools in the cities. — The elementary school described above is not to be confused with a quite different school and one vastly more significant in the development of European education, — namely, the vernacular elementary school. This school represents the origin of the people's common school and in its clientele, its subject matter of instruction, and its social purpose is different from the Latin school of any grade.

By the fourteenth century in the cities of Flanders had arisen a situation which called into existence a vernacular school of elementary grade. Small masters, who carried on their business within a local radius with men who spoke the same language as themselves, found it useful to be able to keep their accounts in their everyday tongue in which there were not so many troublesome rules of grammar and in which one could spell as one pleased. The city fathers were beginning to publish in the vernacular the ordinances that controlled business. Court trials were coming to be conducted in the language of the people, and a new literature of the city dweller, different both from the heritage from the classical past and from the chivalric literature of the noble's castle, was being developed in such tales as those of Reynard the Fox and in the miracle or mystery plays. All this made it convenient and profitable for a large number of those who lived and worked within the city walls to learn how to read and write in the vernacular and to master a system of business

accounts and the arithmetic that was used in business. Accordingly there arose a demand for instruction in the mother tongue which had no reference to any further or more advanced study.

21. Novembre 1461.

Nous les maistres proviseur prieur et escoliers du college de harecourt frainx a
 Paris en la rue de la harpe & confessions avoir eu et receu des provosts & la
 vicomte de Caen par les mains de honorable homme
 maistre therard bureau vicomte de Caen tout ce qui nous est deu fin la & Normans
 de la & pinte de puis la Reduccion & Normandie Jusques au terme de pasc
 includ luy mil quatre cens soixante deux En testimonye de ce nous avons
 mis & affichee en ces presentes le sceau du college luy mil quatre cens soixante
 deux le vingt & uniesme de novembre

Courtesy of Professor David Eugene Smith

Fig. 45. — A business document written in French on parchment, dated November 21, 1461, showing the shift to the use of the vernacular instead of Latin in business documents. Translation by Frances M. Clarke.

"We the masters, proviseur, prior, and scholars of the college of Harecourt situated at Paris in the Rue de la Harpe confess to have had and received from the provosts of the receipts and revenue of the vicomte of Caen by the hands of the honorable man Master Therard Bureau, vicomte of Caen all which is due us from the said revenue of the said provosts since the reduction of Normandy up to the Easter term including the year one thousand four hundred sixty-one. In testimony of this we have placed and affixed in these presents the seal of the said college the year one thousand four hundred sixty-one, the twenty first of November."

As early as 1320 the town council of Brussels was empowered to open five schools for boys and four for girls, in which "the *elementary things* [*Kleine*

Dinge] exclusive of Donatus" were to be taught. The movement toward elementary schools in the vernacular spread rapidly throughout the Low Countries and the commercial cities of Germany. "In the year 1500 all except the smallest cities in Germany possessed side by side with the Latin school a German school, and side by side with the Latin schoolmaster a German schoolmaster or German writing master."¹ In addition to the authorized burgher schools of elementary grade there were many unauthorized schools of similar nature, which were variously known as adventure schools, *Winkelschulen*, hedge schools, and petty schools. Similar developments occurred in London, Paris, and many other European towns and cities.

Reckoning and writing schools. — If the changed circumstances of European city life made a Latin education useful for the sons of the more prosperous burghers and an education in the vernacular useful for both the sons and daughters of those in more moderate circumstances, there yet remained a phase of vocational preparation which was not adequately cared for either in the grammar or vernacular schools nor yet in the ordinary course of apprenticeship. The demands of commercial accounting represented a specialty for which particular training was necessary and which could best be supplied through school instruction. To meet this need there arose a class of specialists, known in the German cities as *Rechenmeisters*, who undertook to teach writing, commercial arithmetic, and bookkeeping. In the course of time

¹ Barth, *Die Geschichte der Erziehung*.

these teachers followed the ordinary medieval precedent of forming a guild for the protection of their art. The *Rechenmeisters* took apprentices who served for seven years in learning their trade, at the end of which period they entered upon an intermediate stage corresponding to the status of bachelor or journeyman. In this rank they were called *Schreibers* and were qualified to give instruction as assistant teachers. When a vacancy in the guild occurred, the senior *Schreiber* was examined as to his competency to enter and if successful became a full-fledged *Rechenmeister*.

The *Rechenmeisters* became influential in city education in the fifteenth century and their schools were recognized officially as a part of the educational system. Their exclusive right to give instruction in writing, bookkeeping, and commercial arithmetic was jealously defended down into the eighteenth century, with the result that the common school remained for that length of time in many European countries a reading school, while the instruction in writing and arithmetic was a specialty carried on by an independent group of teachers.¹ The influence of this division was visible in the schools of Boston into the nineteenth century.

There is much evidence to show that even in grammar schools where the instruction in the literary subjects was free, extra charges were frequently made for instruction in writing and arithmetic. Sometimes the pupils went after regular school hours to a scrivener or arithmetic teacher for special in-

¹ See Smith, D. E., *History of Mathematics*, I, pp. 256-57.

struction and in other cases the writing master would come to the school to teach his art. Under circumstances where there was a large amount of individual freedom in founding and managing schools, as in England, some grammar schools responded in the sixteenth century to the social need for instruction in arithmetic and writing for certain classes of pupils by providing for the teaching of those subjects as well as the literary part of the curriculum either by the same master or by a second master regularly employed.¹

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. LEACH, A. F., *English Schools at the Reformation*, Archibald Constable, Westminster, 1896 and LEACH, A. F., *The Schools of Medieval England*, Methuen and Co., Ltd., London, 1915. — Present important evidence regarding the supply and the character of grammar and elementary schools in medieval England.

2. WATSON, F., *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, Cambridge University Press, 1908. — Gives much incidental information about both secondary and elementary schools in the late medieval period.

3. LEACH, A. F., *A History of Winchester College*, Scribner, 1899. — The story of the founder and his foundation told in such a way as to throw much light on the times.

4. LYTE, H. G. M., *History of Eton College*, Macmillan, 1899. — The early chapters contain an interesting account of the beginnings of this famous English secondary school.

¹ See Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education, Art, Writing*; Watson, F., *The Beginning of the Teaching of the Modern Subjects in England*, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., London, 1909, pp. 299-312.

5. BARTH, P., *Die Geschichte der Erziehung*, Leipzig, 1911. — Contains a good account of the struggle of the town corporations in Germany and the Netherlands for the control of the local schools. Is good also for the origins of the vernacular schools.

6. PAULSEN, F., *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts*, Leipzig, 1896, Vol. I. — An appreciative account of the curriculum and the methods of the medieval grammar school.

CHAPTER XIII

CHIVALRY AND THE EDUCATION OF THE WARRIOR CLASS

So far in considering medieval education the main concern has been with the clerical orders, for anyone who studied in a university automatically became a cleric and for the greater part the civil service was in the hands of that class. To be sure, there was, all through this period, a very close relationship between the two privileged orders, for members of the nobility frequently became higher officials of the church, and a great proportion of the students in the universities and of the lower church officials were younger sons of the nobility who thus sought to place themselves in pathways of personal advancement. However, if one is to have a comprehensive picture of medieval education it will be necessary that he observe the changes that had taken place after the year 1100 in the life and culture of the nobility.

Changes in the life of the nobility. — Our observation of the nobility for the period 500–1100 showed the members of that class to be rather completely lacking in anything that could be called culture. The noble lived rudely out of necessity and violently out of choice. His main business was fighting and his recreation the chase. For the most part he did not read nor write and his literary environment was

negligible. However, for the period from the eleventh century on one must revise his conception of the life and culture which were to be seen in the medieval court and castle. The same hidden forces that were stirring into new activity the merchant and the scholar broke down as well the isolation of the feudal manor and set to developing what is to be regarded as the first native cultural contributions to come out of post-Roman Europe, namely, a new vernacular literature and the code of chivalry.

Even before the Crusades had begun, a new form of literature was ushered into northern France in the *Song of Roland*, which dealt with the exploits of the knights of Charlemagne. This epic story in verse was only the first of a long line of *chansons de geste*, or songs of war, in which knights and ladies were the chief actors. At the same time in the south of France, in Provence, a long line of native poets employed the local language in a great variety of lyric poems, mainly in praise of love. These singers of the *langue d'oc* were called the *troubadours*. By the latter part of the twelfth century the poets of northern France, the *trouvères*, had softened the hard martial note of their narratives and introduced romantic stories of knights and ladies, going far afield in history to build up tales about the great of the earth, or going back into the past of their own race to glorify the military and sentimental adventures of their own national heroes. In Germany, where the poets of the vernacular were called *minnesingers*, Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. about 1225) composed *Parsifal* and Walther von der Vogelweide

(d. about 1228) sang of the heroes and heroines of the German past. It was at this time that the *Nibelungenlied* was reduced to its literary form. Contemporaneous with the romantic epics, but differing in nature from them should be mentioned the metrical *Romance of the Rose* and the collection of narratives centering about a sly animal hero, *Reynard the Fox*. In Italy the development of the vernacular as a literary vehicle was more rapid and complete than in any other part of Europe, with the result that at the end of the thirteenth century Dante was able to make use of the Tuscan dialect in composing the *Divine Comedy* and to show in that immortal work its perfection as an instrument of literary expression.

With perhaps the single exception of the narrative of *Reynard the Fox* the literature mentioned above was cultivated and enjoyed in the courts and castles of Europe, and probably the length of the romantic epics which the age so greatly appreciated was welcomed by a society that had an abundance of leisure. *Troubadour* and *trouvère* were welcomed at the castle and graced many social occasions, and even members of the nobility prided themselves on their skill in rendering these poetical narratives. Certainly the literature of knightly romance was a prominent aspect of the castle environment.

The development of trade and commerce which we have noted in other connections also made it possible for the nobility to improve the material conditions of their existence. Besides the rough plenty which the manor provided, they could buy soft raiment, tapestries, carpets, and the like, and



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

Fig. 46. — Knights and ladies of the fifteenth century. Taken from Paul Durrieu's *Les très riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*. Original in the Condé Museum, Chantilly. This picture illustrates the springtime diversions of the nobility.



Courtesy of the New York Public Library

Fig. 47. — The departure for the hunt with the falcon. Taken from Paul Durrieu's *Les très riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*. The falconer, carrying two hawks, is followed by two cavaliers with their ladies riding on pillions and one lady riding alone. In the background is the château d'Étampes.

personal ornaments and fine armor. Of books at the best there were very few. The localism and absence of extended contacts, which were characteristic of the Dark Ages, were sharply interrupted by the Crusades, and from the twelfth century on the members of the nobility owed much in the way of education to the new ideas that came from travel and the meeting of strangers.

However, the most conspicuous development in the life of the nobility was the elaboration of a code governing the actions of that class. In the beginning of the feudal system a knight was simply a military vassal. In the twelfth century and thereafter the word came to denote one who had added to his birthright the cultivated graces, courtesies, and ideals of chivalry. There grew up at that time a code of conduct which defined the duties of a knight to his overlord, to his companions at arms, and to the ladies. Ideals of loyalty, of service to the church, of devotion to the noble fair, and of courteous, honorable conduct at all times more or less completely influenced the life of the entire class of the nobility. The knowledge and habits involved in achieving the status of knight were so extensive that it was necessary for the boy who expected to be at home in noble society first to go through a long period of education.

The education of the knight. — At the age of seven the boy who belonged to a noble house was likely to be sent away from home to be brought up in the castle of an overlord. For seven years he served there as *page*, waiting on the ladies, serving at table, learning to ride and to use the weapons of the day,



From a painting in the Tate Gallery

Fig. 48. — The Vigil, by John Pettie. From a painting in the Tate Gallery, London

and also being schooled in the usages of polite society. In the course of his training at the castle it was expected that he should learn to read and write, probably in French, which was the language of chivalry and romantic literature, as well as to engage in the indoor recreations of the time. From his fourteenth to his twenty-first year, his training was taken over by the knight and he became the knight's companion at arms, or *squire*. In this capacity he looked after the horses and the arms of his mentor, accompanied him in hunting, in the tournaments, and on military campaigns. Having in this way been for seven years a man's man and having gained experience in the arts of war, the squire was entitled to receive the rank of *knight*. In many instances there was an elaborate religious ceremonial connected with the act of knighting, as in theory the knight became the defender of true religion and the sworn ally of the church. Sometimes the young squire spent a night of prayer and vigil with his arms in the local church before the day of his elevation to the highest grade of chivalric honor. (See Fig. 48.) However, the process of knighting often took place on the fighting field upon which the squire had distinguished himself and shown himself worthy of full membership in the society of knights.

The significance of chivalric education. — It can hardly fail to be recognized that the change which had thus come about in the environment and education of the members of the nobility was of prime importance in the development of European education. The nobility represented the highest class in Euro-

pean society and had the greatest social importance. The refinement of their life and manners, their new interest in literary accomplishments, and the broader outlook which came to them through contacts and travel prepared them for the important rôle which they were soon to play in the public service.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. CORNISH, F. W., *Chivalry*, Macmillan, 1911. — This book has been recognized ever since its appearance as the standard work on the subject of chivalry and chivalric education. It contains also a good account of the development of the European vernacular literatures.

2. DAVIS, W. S., *Life on a Mediaeval Barony*, Harper, 1923. — An extremely readable account of the interests and activities of the members of the nobility, with incidental treatment of the life of the other classes of the medieval population.

3. THORNDIKE, L., *The History of Mediaeval Europe*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, Ch. XXI. — A brief account of the development of the vernacular literatures.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RECOVERY OF THE IDEA OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION IN ITALY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

IT is indeed difficult to find a concise formula which will indicate to the reader what this chapter is to deal with. From the viewpoint of the developing tradition of Western education the central factor is the coming again into Europe of the ideal of education for purposes of general human cultivation, as contrasted with the severely utilitarian, or professional, objective of study which dominated the centuries just preceding. But hardly subordinate to this thoroughgoing change in educational aim was the fact that again there became available the whole body of classical literature and science, in the Greek as well as the Latin language. And it is no less important to keep in mind the fact that the profound changes which occurred in education developed out of new conditions in Italian society, which fostered also a remarkable development of art and its application in countless ways.

Perhaps the most direct way to indicate the subject matter with which the chapter is to deal would be to call it "The Renaissance in the Italian Cities of the Fourteenth Century" and be done with it. However, there are some very real dis-

advantages in letting the word "Renaissance" carry too much weight. If it is once seen just how much and how little of a "rebirth" there was in Italy in the fourteenth century, perhaps the word may again be used to name the manifold developments of a very stirring period of Western history. The earlier writers about the Renaissance, like Burkhardt and Symonds, make it seem to be rather a sudden affair for which there was no previous development or preparation. Later researches have given much more adequate information about the Middle Ages than those writers had at their command, and the later tendency has been to establish a continuity of development from much farther back in point of time. The commercial activities of Italy had introduced profound changes in the life of its cities as early as the eleventh century and extremely vital intellectual currents had been set in motion through the study of civil and canon law, medicine, and the preparatory disciplines that were necessary instruments for studying and teaching those professional subjects. The revival of studies which has been seen as taking place in the cities of Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries represented an intellectual rebirth of no small moment, and the recovery of that portion of the classical legacy which was rewon in the university development compares very favorably in importance with the movement which is about to be considered. It is also recalled, with considerable justice, that the Latin works which were recovered for study in the fourteenth century in a great wave of enthusiasm

for Latin literature were almost all found in monastic and cathedral libraries in the West where they had been known to some one or other probably all through the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, it must be said that the new attitude toward the Latin literature and later the Greek, differed so fundamentally from the old that it constituted an entirely new experience. The dry bones in the valley of scholastic formalism took on new life and a new world of intellect and taste came into existence. If the enthusiasm of the early students of the rediscovered classics could have been transferred in a substantial and lasting way to the work of the schools and universities it would have been a rebirth indeed of the intellectual and moral life of Europe.

Without attempting then to make the word "Renaissance" carry too much weight, let us turn to examine first of all the social phenomena of the fourteenth century in the cities of Italy where marked educational changes were occurring.

Social conditions in the Italian cities. — In the fourteenth century the northern part of Italy was the richest portion of Europe. The plains of Lombardy and the rugged hills of Tuscany were dotted with thriving cities and towns among which Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Pavia, Bologna, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, and many others were important not only in the field of commerce and trade, but were distinguished as the seats of a vigorous intellectual and artistic development. Italy was the distributing point in the commerce carried on between the Orient

and Europe north of the Alps. The trade provided by this passage of goods from East to West and North stimulated manufacturing with the result that the commercial impulse of the seaport towns was distributed over the entire northern part of Italy. There is nothing in these later centuries of Italian commerce and trade to distinguish them from the earlier, except that as the years passed on wealth and power became a habit with the prosperous merchant families and possession of wealth gave opportunity for the gratification of expensive tastes and provided a larger amount of leisure.

Our first notice of the Italian cities was taken when they were resisting, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the efforts of the Holy Roman emperors to bring them into subjection to the ideal of imperial administration. The same impulse of independence which led them to resist the emperors led each city to assert its independence of all the rest, with the result that northern Italy became the seat of a large number of small city-states. These small sovereignties were continually fighting among themselves, but as the merchants who lived in the towns had small taste for fighting they early developed the custom of hiring soldiers under professional leaders, called *condottieri*, to fight their wars for them. This development of a professional fighting class led to a great improvement in military science and changed the whole art of war. Disciplined foot soldiers took the place of the armed horsemen who had been the mainstay of the medieval battle line and the important and successful soldier became so

rather by his skill in military science than by his prowess as a champion in single combat. This may seem far afield from the history of education, but in reality it is not so at all. The science of war owed much in those centuries to the study of the methods of the great generals of antiquity, and the mechanical aids to attack and defense called for large use of mathematics and mechanics.

The sharp conflicts between the cities of Italy had their counterpart in violent domestic politics. Cities were the fighting field of factions which stopped short of nothing in their thrusts for domination. By the fourteenth century the constant warfare within the walls was found to be inefficient and the government of the cities tended to pass into the hands of military usurpers, or "despots." While Venice retained its oligarchical government for many centuries, Florence, the most democratic city of Italy, finally came into the power of the dei Medici family in the fifteenth century. Cosimo dei Medici, a wealthy banker, and his grandson Lorenzo dei Medici, maintained effective control over the politics of Florence for almost sixty years, during which time they were beneficent patrons of art and learning. Other famous despots were the Sforza family in Milan, the Scaliger family in Verona, the Gonzagas in Mantua, and the d'Este house in Ferrara.

The despots were for the most part social upstarts who had in their persons none of the "divinity that doth hedge about" a legitimate king. For this reason they seemed to be all the more desirous of establishing about their courts a distinguished

environment. Probably this motive was influential in making the many little courts of the Italian despotisms centers of classical study in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The none-too-royal families were lavish in the employment of goldsmiths, painters, and sculptors and they provided exceptional opportunities of research and teaching to the scholars of the times.

The noble moves to town. — A further social change which has great importance in the history of Western education occurred in the Italian cities of the thirteenth century, — namely, the elimination of the sharp distinction which had previously existed between the noble and the merchant class. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the townsmen had been in ceaseless conflict with the nobles, who had occupied castles near the city walls and been given to high-handed interference with the commerce of the merchants. The latter finally succeeded in bringing the robber nobility to terms and compelled them to give up their fortified castles and move into the towns. Probably the nobles lost little in the transfer, for certainly the amenities of the town were superior to those of a stone castle occupied more or less as a fort. In course of time the sons of nobles married into the families of the rich merchants and bankers and identified themselves fully with the town life. Indeed, the way of life of the two classes must have come to be very much on a parity, with the advantage on the side of the man of business. The latter had wealth, a fine house, and was able to adorn his home and his person with

all the luxuries and objects of art that the times afforded. The noble could have no more than he in the way of material embellishment of his existence. And when both noble and business man turned to the cultivation of the fine arts of leisure, they met on common spiritual ground. Along with his profession of arms, the noble began to cultivate the arts and literature, and outside of his counting house the merchant and the banker became connoisseurs of art and students of the classics. In the social meetings of the town circle or in the court of the local despot members of both classes were on a footing of equality and vied with one another in the fine art of passing time agreeably and with distinction. Thus the noble and the business man mingled in the common rôle of "courtier," or as the English had it, of "gentleman."

A society in search of new spiritual resources. — There is much to indicate that the Italians of the fourteenth century were possessed of a degree of leisure and energy for which there was no adequate means of satisfaction. It was a period of active public building and of great improvement of the private dwelling. The competition of rich buyers stimulated the efforts of gold- and silversmiths and jewelers. There had been noteworthy improvement in sculpture, which burst into flower in the early fifteenth century with the masterpieces of Ghiberti and Donatello. The fourteenth century saw the production of the best work of Giotto, the father of Italian realism in painting, and the birth of the saintly Fra Angelico. That same century produced

the sonnets of Petrarch in the Tuscan dialect, fast becoming the literary language of Italy, and also a new power and distinction in Italian prose as shown in the tales of Boccaccio. There were vigor and creativeness in all the fields of art. Men possessed powers of appreciation that could not be satisfied with the means of satisfaction at their command. In every direction they were pressing against the boundaries of their hemmed-in world in an effort to conquer new skills and to discover new and finer forms of self-expression.

The rediscovery of classical literature. — It was in such a spirit of questing for finer experiences that eager minds of the fourteenth century suddenly became aware of “ acres of diamonds ” lying at their doorstep. The medieval schoolboy had conned his Virgil, but for the purpose of learning a Latin vocabulary and the rules of Latin syntax so that he might become capable of writing the wills of local magnates or of keeping a record of the cases brought before the King’s Bench. And such in general was the situation as regards the intercourse between the medieval scholar and the great literature of antiquity. He read, but reading he did not comprehend. It was only when life had come up to a level which made understandable the classic viewpoint that the finer minds of Italy could see in the great literature of Greece and Rome a treasury upon which they might draw unstintedly for the enlargement and the enrichment of their intelligence and taste.

The full importance of this new appreciation of classical literature and learning to Italians of the

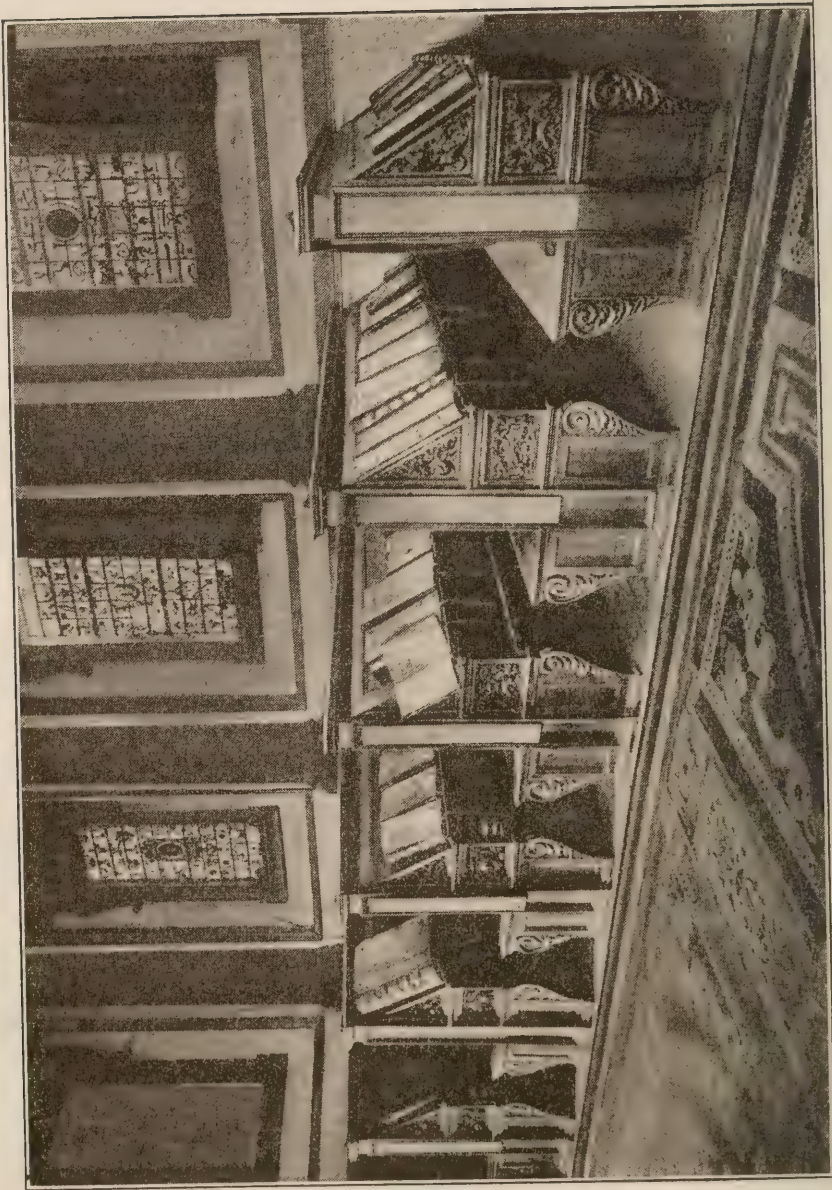


Fig. 49. — A corner of the Mediceo-Laurenziana Library at Florence, Italy, which contains many manuscript treasures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Founded by Cosimo dei Medici in 1444.



Photo by Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

Fig. 50. — The court of the ancient cloisters of the Church of San Lorenzo, Florence, which is also the entrance to the Medicean-Laurentian Library. In the background to the left appears the famous dome constructed by Brunelleschi and on the right rises Giotto's belltower as they were in the days of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

fourteenth century can be appreciated only as one considers their limited literary resources and as one recalls the extent and character of the classical heritage. The beginnings had been made, to be sure, of a body of literary material in the vernacular and this was not only accessible to them, but used and enjoyed as well. However, in variety and amount, Italian literature was very small. Outside of that there were the technical materials of the civil and the canon law and medicine. The philosophy of the schools was available, but it represented only a narrow speculative interest made illiberal and repulsive through the peculiar methods of the schoolmen. The studies of the undergraduate course received little independent development because they were regarded almost exclusively as instruments for professional instruction and practice. Outside of these limited fields, there was the talk about neighbors, business, politics, wars, travels — neighborhood gossip and town and shop talk. Is it to be wondered at that, once the way was pointed out, the active and intelligent minds of the fourteenth century should eagerly make themselves masters of the poetry, drama, history, moral essays, letters, orations, and works of philosophy and science which had been produced during the great creative centuries of classical antiquity? Here was a noble feast where there had been famine.

The first stage of the revival of the classical learning dealt with the Latin and here the first task which confronted the enthusiasts for that language in its classic form was to fill out their list of Latin

[illegible]

argilla. lo. si. Edq. fuit f. c. d. a. n. f. i. o. r.
q. q. q. r. u. n. d. i. f. d. a. n. g. i. l. l. a.
m. a. l. e. c. a. n. n. e. d. u. l. e. f. a. u. d. i. t. e. c. i. l. l. a. n. o. n. n. i.
q. u. i. f. u. l. l. i. c. a. n. n. o. n. n. i. d. a. n. n. e. q. u. i. b. i. d. i. o.
f. l. u. i. f. d. o. l. o. r. a. t. a. c.

77. *Chrysomelidae* *Chrysomelidae* *Chrysomelidae*

AD FLORUM AMICUM SUUM
 lore bono claroq; fidelis amice neroni
 Siquis forte uelit puerū tibi uendere nūū
 Tibire uel gabus. et tecum sic agat. hic et
 Candidus. et talos a uertice pulcher ad imos
 fiet. eritq; tuus nūmmorū milibus octo
 Verna ministris ad nutus aptus heriles.
 Luterulis grecis umbrosis. idoneus arti
 Cui libet. argilla quouis imitabitur uda
 Quin etiam canet in doctorem. sed dulce bibenti.

[illegible]

Fig. 51. — A page from a tenth century manuscript of the *Odes* of Horace, once owned by Petrarch, who purchased it in 1327. The note on the left-hand margin near the top has been identified as in Petrarch's handwriting. The manuscript is in the Medicean-Laurentian Library at Florence.

texts. Nowhere was to be found a comprehensive collection of Latin literature and many of the copies of great works that were in use were badly marred through errors which had been made sometime or other in transcribing them. To find or to piece together pure texts and as many of them as possible constituted the larger objectives of the early humanists in Italy. Foremost in this search were Petrarch (1304-1374) and the Papal Secretary Poggio (1380-1459). Since no single library contained more than a part of the whole list of classical texts, it was necessary to travel far and wide, to ransack old libraries and storerooms, and to exchange books for comparison of texts and supplementation of lists. We should remember, too, that this was done at a time when communication was slow and when all books were made by hand.

Poggio tells of going out to the monastery of St. Gall in 1416 while he was attending the meetings of the Council of Constance and asking the monk in charge for permission to visit the library. The monk told him that the room containing the books was not locked and indicated that he should go up the stairs and look about. Poggio tells with great feeling of the shameful condition in which he found the books. Many of them had pages missing and others had had the margins clipped off to be used for making books of worship for choir boys. And here in the midst of mold and dust Poggio discovered a perfect copy of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*. Up to then only a part of this important work had been known and it is only after 1416 that the influ-

ence of Quintilian became preëminent as the classical authority on education. It is quite possible that except for the interest of Poggio this work might never have been brought to light and thus would have suffered the fate of much of the work of Cicero and of other classical Latin writers. It is due to the tireless efforts of the fourteenth and fifteenth century humanists that the Latin literature was so largely recovered.

The first serious study of the Greek language and literature in this era is generally attributed to the enthusiasm aroused by the visit of a great Greek scholar of Constantinople, Manuel Chrysoloras, who lectured from 1397 to 1400 in Florence and later in other Italian cities. It was easily seen that mastery of the Latin language and full appreciation of the Latin literature were dependent upon a knowledge of Greek. Accordingly the Italian scholars, many of them grown men, eagerly learned of Chrysoloras. Greek books were imported at a rapid rate, and Italian students perfected themselves in Greek scholarship, with the result that by the middle of the fifteenth century a complete and liberal education was held to imply equal familiarity with both of the classical languages.

The conception of a liberal education. — We should naturally expect that such profound changes in the interests of the intellectual class as we have been describing should have immediate repercussion in the practices of the schools and in the ideals and purposes of education. One of the earliest and best statements of the new pedagogy is to be found in the

treatise, *De Ingenuis Moribus*, written about 1404 by Petrus Paulus Vergerius, a professor in the University of Padua and client of the despot of Padua, Francesco Carrara. The book was written by Vergerius to serve as a guide to the son of his patron, the young Ubertinus. In the course of this work we read: "We call those studies *liberal* which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practice virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains, and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men, and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue only."¹ In this statement of the meaning of "liberal studies" is given in brief compass the whole educational aim of the new learning. It is to enlarge the experience, sharpen the intelligence, refine the taste, strengthen the body, develop the moral sense, and mature the character of the growing boy. No longer does the limited aim of preparing for later professional studies or for practical employment engross the educator. His aim now has come rather to be the all-round human development of the pupil, and utilitarian purposes, at least in the statement of the aim of education, fall into the background. As was quite logical at the time, the subject matter of instruction which was considered to be of almost exclusive usefulness in reaching the aim of education consisted of the classical Greek and Latin writings, or of a judicious selection from among them. From the relationship which it was

¹ Translation in Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge University Press.

thought to bear to human excellence and distinction the classical literature came to be called the *humanities*, and its students took the name of *humanists*.

The union of the knightly and the humanist traditions in the court schools of Italy. — It has already been noted as one of the significant social phenomena of the fourteenth century that the nobility had given up the physical and social isolation which earlier had characterized their status in Italy. They had deserted their castles for life in the towns, where they mingled in society with the leaders of town affairs. The resulting product was the courtier, a man of the court, whom the English have named the gentleman. It is not to be thought that having given up his castle the noble had thrown away his weapons nor that personal prowess and skill in defense and attack were no longer a part of his necessary equipment. The life of the times was full of violence and the noble by predilection followed a career of arms. Accordingly for him physical training and instruction in the use of the sword and other weapons were essential. The knightly attention to courtesy and the recreations of leisure was likewise reflected in the courtier's careful regard for external niceties, elegant and fashionable dress, and fine language.¹

In the essay from which was quoted above the definition of liberal studies, Vergerius writes to the son of his ducal patron as follows :

In your own case, Ubertinus, you had before you the choice of training in arms or in letters. Either holds a place of distinction

¹ See Castiglione, *The Courtier*.

among the pursuits which appeal to men of noble spirit; either leads to favor and honor in the world. It would have been natural that you, the scion of a house ennobled by its prowess in arms, should have been content to accept your father's permission to devote yourself wholly to that discipline. But to your great credit you elected to become proficient in both alike; to add to the career of arms traditional in your family, an equal success in that other great discipline of mind and character, the study of literature.¹

Another great humanist educator, Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, advises in 1450 in a treatise, *De Liberorum Educatione* addressed to Ladislas, King of Bohemia, that the royal pupil should early be taught to use the bow, the sling, and the spear, and to drive, ride, leap, and swim. In the same way as Vergerius, Aeneas Sylvius plans that to these physical accomplishments should be added a liberal education in a wide range of Latin and Greek literature, although he has some doubt as to whether in the wilds of Bohemia a competent Greek instructor could be found.

The predilection of the Italian despots, who were without the support of ancient lineage or legal right to their crowns, to anything that would lend distinction to their courts made them patrons of the new learning and in some instances they established schools under the guidance of distinguished humanists within or near the royal palace. Of such court schools the most famous is that one which Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) established at Mantua under the patronage of the Gonzaga family. Vittorino was in charge of the education of the children of the royal

¹ Translation from Woodward, *ibid.*

house, but he taught also the sons of some of the leading families of Mantua. In the course of time the school attracted attention throughout all Italy and its clientele was greatly extended so as to include even bright boys of no means who were personally recommended to the master by his friends and who were given free education. This famous school was housed in a villa near the official residence, which Vittorino called *La Casa Giocosa*, or "Joyful House." Here in a beautiful location, with open spaces for play, was inaugurated a truly remarkable educational experiment. Interest and pride were made to supply the incentive to study in place of the all too prevalent motivation through fear. Moral education and physical play were stressed and the curriculum was exceptionally broad even for a humanistic school of the new type. The instruction seemed to aim at content rather than language forms, at knowing something worth while rather than at refinements of expression.

Some of the Court Schools gained high reputations as homes of learning and were the seats of the greatest intellectual activity of their time. The universities of the older type, like Bologna, continued to emphasize professional instruction along traditional lines and lost their preëminence as the result of the new enthusiasm for humanistic studies. The famous school at Ferrara, where under the patronage of the d'Este princes, Guarino da Verona (1374-1460) was the head, became in 1442 a full-fledged *studium generale*, possessed of a charter from the Emperor. The University of Ferrara was the first to be organized along humanistic lines.

It would be inaccurate to take the Court Schools, especially the remarkable institutions organized by Vittorino and Guarino da Verona, as typical of secondary education in general as affected by the new learning. Those schools were of more than secondary character since they gave instruction of the highest grade. Even when they did not possess the university status, they were truly higher institutions of humanistic learning.

The influence of humanism upon the schools. — The detailed description of the humanist secondary school may be postponed until after we shall have followed the new learning into northern Europe, but it is desirable that we should briefly consider at this point the more general changes which occurred in educational practice. To put the whole matter in a nutshell, it may be said that the European secondary school of the fifteenth century in Italy consciously accepted the aims and methods of the school of the Greek and the Latin grammarian. Quintilian, the great teacher of the first Christian century in Rome, became the acknowledged model for the humanistic schoolmaster. "Eloquence" was the objective directly adopted from the ancient system of teaching and beside eloquence was placed the Christian objective of "piety." Thus piety and eloquence became the double aims of the humanistic school.

One of the important changes which occurred in school practice was the acceptance of the classical for the medieval Latin as the language of education. We have seen how generally Latin was used during the Middle Ages when it was the language of all

records, of all important or official communications, of the courts, of the church, of learned publications, of university instruction, and even of general conversation among university students. Such general use made Latin a living language and like all living languages it became subject to modifications in use. Short cuts in expression were adopted and a great number of new words were added as the need for them arose. Medieval Latin was preëminently a language of everyday use, and the first objective of grammar school instruction was to provide a pupil with a vocabulary, teach him the ordinary rules of correct usage, and develop in him the ability to write and speak the language so that he could say what he had to say in a way that would be understood.

In the new humanistic schools, however, a very conscious effort was made to employ the vocabulary and the constructions which were used by the best classical authors. Cicero was the great authority, but Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, Terence, and Pliny the Younger were also extremely influential in establishing the canon of taste for use in schoolboy compositions. To the older aim of command of the Latin language as an instrument for gaining knowledge and for self-expression was added the aim of writing with distinction, as the great writers wrote, and of using only such words and constructions as could be justified by the example of the classical authors.

A second important change that occurred, as compared with medieval practice, was the much more extensive use of whole works as the subject of study.

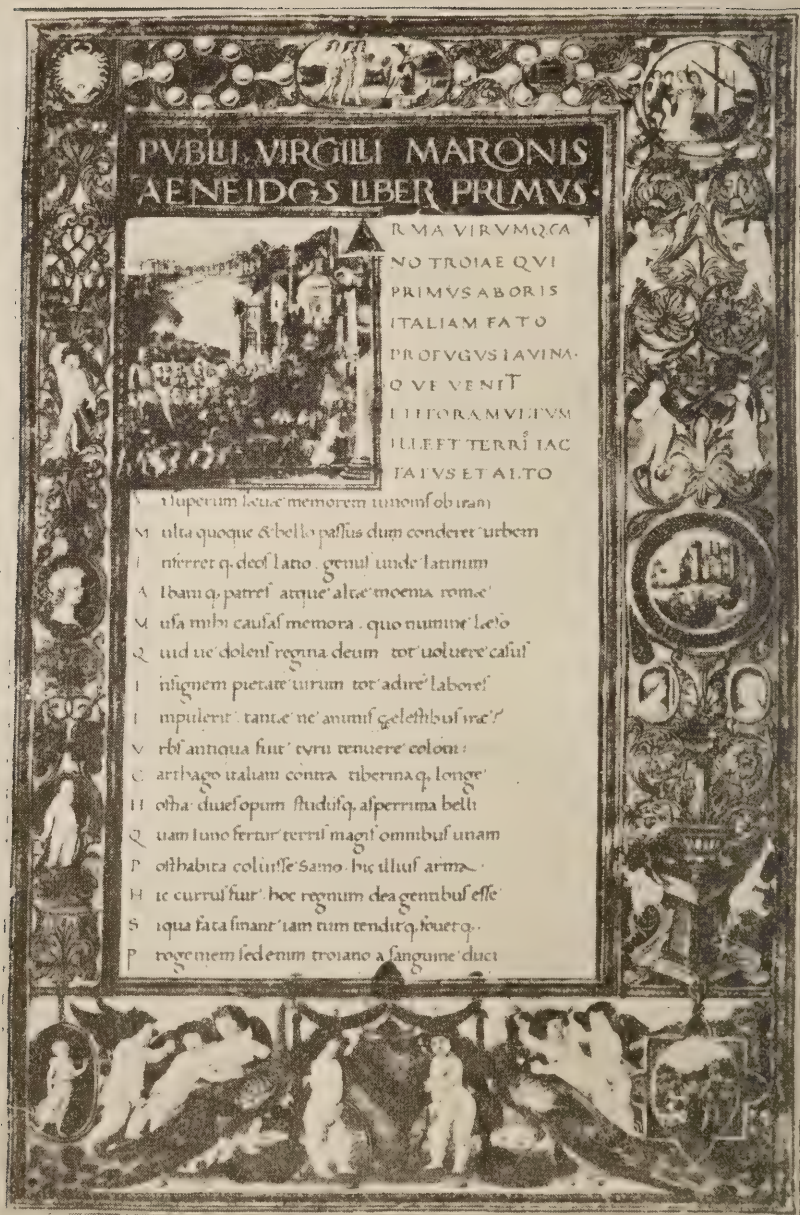


Fig. 52. — First page of a fifteenth century manuscript of Virgil's *Aeneid*, now in the Medicean-Laurentian Library at Florence.

Of course this new method was greatly aided after the printing trade had developed during the second half of the fifteenth century, but even before that had taken place the new emphasis in the study of authors and complete works was apparent. Authors were studied for their content and stress was laid on appreciation of their style.

A third change to be noted is the much greater variety of authors that came to be used in the curriculum of the secondary school. As would be expected, Virgil, among the poets, retained the place of highest honor, but practically all the classic poets were drawn upon except those whose works were considered to be licentious and destructive of morals. The works of the dramatists, Plautus and Terence, in spite of some reservations regarding their moral influence, were widely used, for the reason that they gave much help in expressing the common everyday experiences and were therefore extremely helpful in the development of conversational skill. The great usefulness of Cicero as the model for set speeches on formal occasions gave him a place of great prominence, although he was hardly less looked up to as providing the rule of good taste in ordinary prose narrative and in letter writing. Pliny the Younger was also a mirror of epistolary form, while from the historians Livy, Sallust, and Caesar, the schoolboy drew worthy moral lessons and good examples of sound prose.

The excesses and the defects of humanistic study. — The substitution of the classical for the medieval Latin as the subject of instruction, in spite

of the enlarged ideal of education which brought it about and in spite of the great extension of the curriculum through which it was effected, was not without certain disadvantages and dangers. What had occurred was, in effect, the substitution of a dead for a living language in the schools. In the course of time an almost idolatrous regard for classical usage developed. Cicero's works in particular came to be regarded by a group of humanists as the only perfect model. No word, phrase, or construction that did not have the authority of Cicero's usage was regarded by them as acceptable in original composition. This extreme development of humanism, known as *Ciceronianism*, was quite contrary to the original spirit of the humanist revival and also to the ideals of the most influential classical scholars at any time. Erasmus made this tendency the object of attack in a treatise on *Ciceronianism*.

That such a movement could develop is symptomatic, however, of the danger that lurked in the exclusive cultivation of the humanities. There was the temptation always present to make style rather than matter the object of greatest emphasis, and to spend the major amount of time on rules of syntax and niceties of expression rather than upon ideas. The medieval schoolboy had studied grammar assiduously, but it was a simple exercise compared with the study of the mechanics of language which developed in the humanist school. The humanist schoolmaster in large part defeated the aim of liberal education when he thus fastened upon the curriculum an excessive attention to the

forms of expression and the technique of construction.

Some practical bearings of the new liberal studies.

— Before leaving the Italian phase of the revival of classical learning, it may be of interest to point out how the new studies made their contact with the life of the times, for the liberal education was certainly not without its utilitarian applications. One of the most general uses made of the new Latin was in delivering public addresses. Fifteenth century Italy found a great place for oratory. When an embassy was received its spokesman delivered an oration, to which fitting response had to be made. Every official on taking office either heard or pronounced a discourse concerning his duties. Funeral addresses were spoken by the humanist in the church, in lay habit. Scholarly laymen constantly spoke on saints' days, at weddings, at interments, at the installation of bishops, or, on occasion, at the first mass of a priest before the chapter.¹ It is said that the oratorical skill of Aeneas Sylvius led him to the papacy. In addition to the frequent occasions for formal public speeches, there was a practical application of the ability to write pure, classical Latin in the service of despots, popes, and bishops. The medieval Latin had served in its day for use in state papers, but when Italy became acutely conscious of the divergence of the practical Latin from the classical canon, the rulers, temporal and spiritual, would have none but the best Latin appearing in their official documents. Thus many a young

¹ See Lavisce and Rambaud, *L'histoire universelle*, III, 561.

humanist found a livelihood and a notable career resting upon his ability to write a document that might read like an essay by Cicero.

In the study of the art of war the new captains of organized mercenary troops drew upon the tactical and strategical skill of the famous soldiers of antiquity and they found application as well for some of the neglected science of the Greeks in perfecting their modes of attack and defense. The same treasury of ideas and knowledge was drawn upon by active minds for use in architecture and industrial manufacturing.

Perhaps the most general utility of the new learning came, however, through the fact that it was part of the necessary equipment of the man of society. The classics were the constant source of quotation in ordinary conversation and correspondence and topics drawn from them were the subject of discussion in social circles. No man could hope to achieve social distinction or even to escape constant and serious embarrassment if he were not proficient in a phase of cultivation which was accepted as a matter of course in court and drawing room.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. THORNDIKE, L., *A History of Mediaeval Europe*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, Chs. XXXI and XXXII. — A good brief account of the political, social, and artistic developments in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

2. SYMONDS, J. A., *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, Henry Holt and Co., 1894. — This interestingly

written book has long been a standard reference for the period.

3. ROBINSON, J. H., and ROLFE, H. W., *Petrarch*, Putnam, 1898. — Contains a sketch of the life and work of one of the principal actors in the humanistic revival. The greater part of the volume is devoted to translations of some of Petrarch's correspondence.

4. WOODWARD, W. H., *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge University Press, 1905. — Contains an account of the educational theories and practice of Vittorino and translations of much important educational literature of the period.

5. WOODWARD, W. H., *Education during the Renaissance*, Cambridge University Press, 1906. — Has important chapters bearing on the Italian phase of the revival of learning.

6. SANDYS, J. E., *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1908. — Contains a valuable account of the progress of classical scholarship in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW EDUCATIONAL CLIENTELE IN NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

As one views the historical development of the revival of humanistic learning over a period of three centuries, the Italian phase of that revival seems almost like a trial performance on a small stage of a drama which eventually absorbed the attention of all of Europe. The new interest in the whole range of classical literature began to make its way north of the Alps early in the second half of the fifteenth century, and before the end of that century the influence of the new learning was strong in many German and Lowland schools. The campaigns of French kings in an effort to conquer portions of Italy, which began in 1494, operated powerfully in bringing the rich Italian culture into the intellectual and artistic life of France. During the first half of the sixteenth century the progress of the new learning was rapid, and long before the end of that century its conquest of secondary education in all of Europe was complete.

The Europe into which this new learning penetrated was, however, a vastly different Europe from that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which had seen the first revival of classical learning and

the establishment of the universities. Changes had taken place in government, in business, in the social organization, and in the habits of daily life which, as we shall see, conditioned at every turn both the demand for education and the educational means and methods employed. Let us direct our attention to this veritable revolution in European life.

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

Science and discovery enlarge the world of commerce. — The fifteenth century saw remarkable activity in maritime discoveries in which Portuguese sailors took the lead. The perfecting of the compass and the astrolabe, which had long previously been known to the Arabs, had greatly improved the accuracy of locating positions at sea and had enabled sailors to set long courses out of sight of land. The increase of geographical knowledge resulting from early fifteenth century explorations called for the drafting of new and better maps and the demands of navigation for more accurate reckonings stimulated the development of mathematics and astronomy.

Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) anticipated the sixteenth century cosmological theories by stating his opinion that the universe was infinite in extent and therefore could have no center. He believed also that the earth made a diurnal rotation upon its axis. He drew a new map of the known world and attempted to correct the astronomical tables upon which navigators were dependent. Georg von Peurbach (1423–1461) was a pupil of Nicholas of Cusa and became professor of mathematics at the

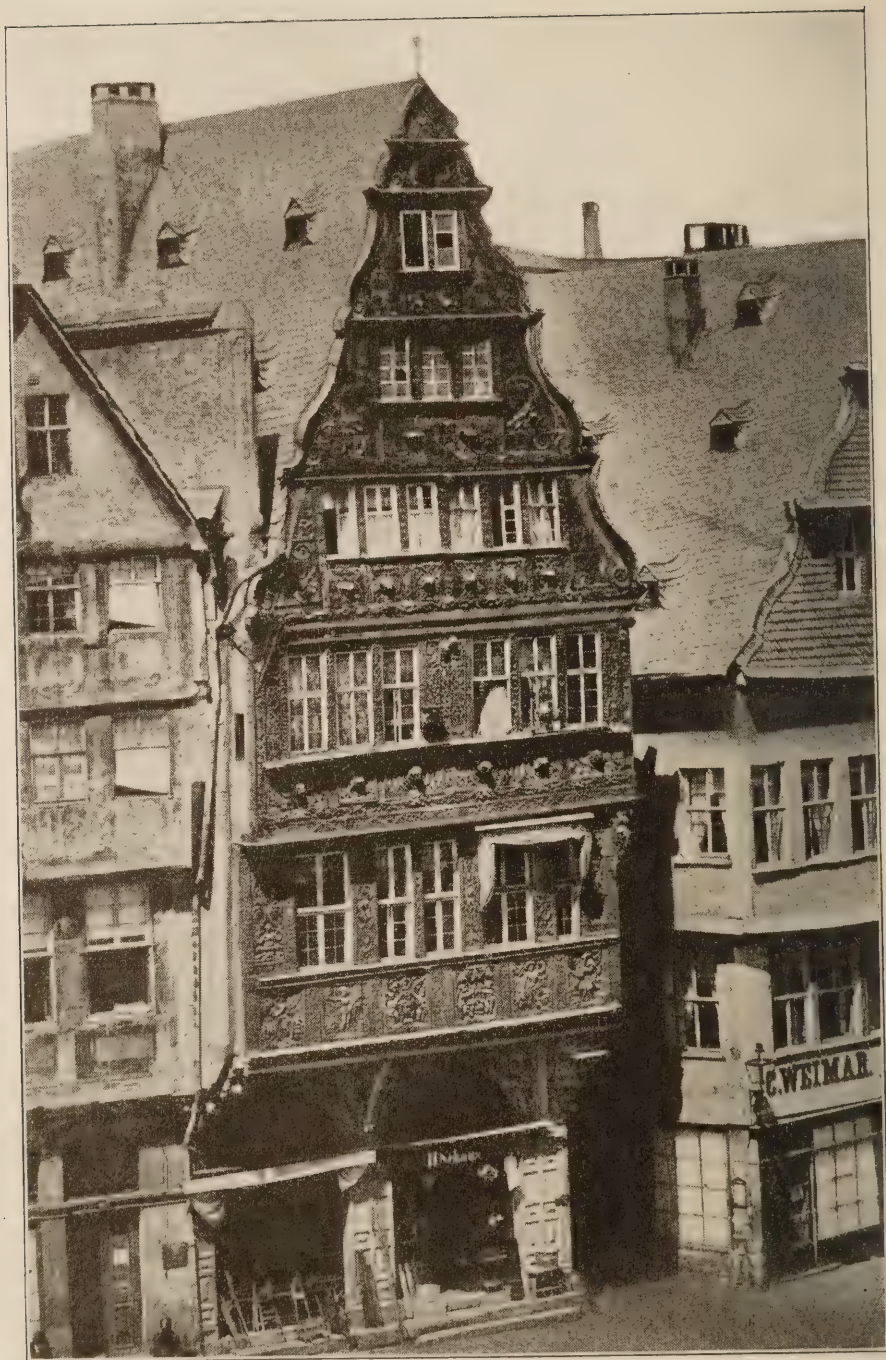
University of Vienna. He made astronomical computations which give him an important place in the development of modern mathematical and observational astronomy. His pupil, Johann Müller (1436-1476), better known as Regiomontanus, became the most eminent scientist of his century. He wrote the earliest modern trigonometry and his more accurate and detailed astronomical tables were highly useful to navigators. It is said that his tables, published in 1475, were important for the voyages of Vasco da Gama, Vespucci, and Columbus. His scientific method and his contributions to scientific knowledge were prophetic of the stupendous advances which science was to make in the century following his death.

The improvement in mathematical and astronomical science and the practical use of the compass and the astrolabe coöperated with the initiative of fifteenth century sailors in an epoch-making expansion of the known world. Long before the memorable voyage of Columbus, Portuguese navigators had greatly extended the range of deep-sea voyages, and although his discovery of America ranks first in the annals of fifteenth century seamanship, it by no means stands alone. Only five years after the first voyage of Columbus to America, John Cabot reached the mainland of North America and in the same year Vasco da Gama not only rounded the Cape of Good Hope, which he had done before, but kept on eastward until he came to the Orient, land of spices and jewels and source of the most lucrative commerce of the times. In 1519 Magellan left

Spain to sail entirely around the globe, and although the daring leader of the expedition did not live to complete the journey, one of his ships three years later put into the harbor of Seville, having accomplished the purpose of the voyage.

The success of these epoch-making voyages greatly stimulated navigation. Ships were made larger and more seaworthy and eventually came to carry heavier and less costly products, which in the preceding centuries had hardly figured as materials of commerce at all. As a result, the amount of commerce greatly increased, which meant accessions to the numbers of the commercial class and more profits to those engaged in trade.

The cities of Italy had greatly profited during three or four centuries from their position of advantage with reference to the pathways of trade with the Near East and the Orient. The discovery of the sea routes to India, which occurred at a time when the Ottoman Turks were making commerce by means of the accustomed routes more and more difficult, had the effect of diverting to the seaports of northern Europe the rich trade which the Italian cities had enjoyed. Cadiz, Lisbon, Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, London, Amsterdam, and other Atlantic ports became the chief business centers, while the general increase in the amount of commerce made possible the diffusion among a vastly greater number of towns a degree of financial prosperity which equalled or surpassed that of northern Italy in its most flourishing period. As a result the middle class in northern Europe, composed of bankers,



Courtesy of Avery Library, Columbia University

Fig. 53.— A burgher house in Heidelberg, built in the sixteenth century.

merchants, and manufacturers, experienced a tremendous increase in numbers and wealth and, as we shall see, in social importance.

Changes in commercial and industrial organization. — There are many indications that by the opening of the sixteenth century the guild system of organizing commerce and industry had lost its vitality. New industries developing at that time, such as the printing trade, did not follow the guild form of organization, and in the older trades the opportunity of journeyman to become master had all but disappeared. "Liveried" corporations of masters became a separate commercial class and the classification of journeyman tended to become a life-status for the great mass of workingmen.

For the tremendously increased commercial activities of the sixteenth century, new forms of organization which accentuated the advantage of the man of capital came more and more to be followed. A class of merchants developed who procured the raw materials, for example, of a textile trade, distributed them to workmen, paid the workmen for their labor, collected the finished products, and sold them in the market. The merchant who thus directed the entire range of commercial operations bought at advantage, was in a favorable position for bargaining with the workmen as to wages, and reaped the entire profit of the series of transactions for himself. This system of production, well begun in the sixteenth century, came to dominate the commercial life of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was only superseded by the application of

power to manufacturing in the late eighteenth century.

The period was one also in which monopolies of various sorts were sold to individuals or financial groups, which worked out by and large to the disadvantage of the common man.

To meet the new demands of overseas commerce, which involved large expenditures of capital on the chance of stupendous profits, the joint-stock system of commercial organization came to take the place of guild activity and ordinary business partnership. By making it possible for many persons to take part in foreign trade through the purchase of shares or the subscription of stock in a trading company, the range of participation in commercial life and its profits was greatly extended. To a considerable extent the movement in the direction of monopolies combined with the system of chartered stock companies in the exploitation of the commercial possibilities which the explorations of the late fifteenth century had opened up. But the system of the chartered stock company was applied as well in the manufacture of textiles, the ownership of land, sheep-husbandry, banking, and mining, and it proved to be only another social arrangement which operated in widening the gap between those who had capital wealth and those who did not have it.

Changes in rural life. — The fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries had seen important changes in the rural life of the western countries of Europe. In England and France particularly, by the opening of the sixteenth century most of the serfs had been

freed and had become hired laborers or tenant farmers who paid a fixed rental or a share of the farm produce to the landlord. From a certain standpoint this change was profitable to peasant as well as to landlord, for it made it possible for the worker to reap the reward of his special intelligence or industry. On the other hand, it meant for vast numbers of farm workers the separation from an assured, though meager, subsistence which was the serf's by right and by law, and the development of a large population of poverty-stricken and hopeless rural laborers. The position of the rural population was made worse by reason of the development of the large-farm system of cultivation or grazing which became prominent in the Netherlands, England, and Spain in the sixteenth century and which finally led to the extinction of the wasteful and unprogressive medieval system of land tenure and farm economy. These changes in rural life were largely caused by the purchase of land on the part of the members of the middle class grown wealthy in trade and who desired to add to their social power, which they possessed by reason of their wealth, the social distinction which came alone through the ownership of land and the assumption of the rôle of the nobility. They also brought to the business of being a landlord a new concern about agricultural efficiency and a desire to make land pay.

The changes which occurred in rural life in this period had their echo in the frequency of peasant revolts. Unfavorably affected by the rising cost of living, which was a feature of the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, and cut loose in many cases from an assured means of livelihood, the peasants of England were in a long-continued state of disaffection which at times rose to organized violence. In the early sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation in Germany was complicated with a Peasants' War. The lack of resources and leadership made the cause of the peasant hopeless and everywhere the uprisings were put down, in many cases with singular ferocity. The pleas of the peasant for improvement were not answered, but on the contrary he was driven back into the unfavorable circumstances of rural life by legislation which defined his status during the two centuries to follow.

Laws of apprenticeship and poor laws. — If one considers, in connection with the economic dislocation caused by the circumstances just discussed, the fact that the Protestant Reformation in the northern countries of Europe suppressed the monasteries and other religious agencies for taking care of poverty, he can see the reasons for the great amount of unrelieved destitution in the sixteenth century and the legislation that was passed to cope with it. The country was overrun with poor, some of them old and ill and unable to work, some of them children, and others "sturdy rogues" who were a constant menace to life and property. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England saw a progressive development of public policy, as shown in the long list of statutes against begging, against rogues, on apprenticeship, and on the aid of the poor. The English policy crystallized in the Poor Law passed in 1601 which

provided for the support of the poor by the parishes through boards of Overseers of the Poor. The expense was to be met by general taxation. The overseers had the right to erect workhouses where able-bodied paupers might do productive labor and to put out to apprenticeship or domestic service the sons and daughters of all parents who could not "keep and maintain their children." This apprenticeship was to last, in case of the boys, to the age of twenty-four, and of the girls to the age of twenty-one or until their marriage. Other legislation placed the power of determining agricultural and other wages in the hands of the local justices of the peace, and harsh laws were passed making it a crime for workmen to refuse the wages prescribed, or to leave the county without the permission of the courts, or to combine and conspire for the improvement of their grievances. The position of the poor in other countries of Europe was equally unfavorable and in some cases worse than in England.

The educational status of the great mass of the common people was unfavorably affected in the sixteenth century by the position to which they were consigned by law and the opinion of their social betters; and for the next two centuries, until the end of the eighteenth, there was no essential improvement either in their economic condition, their legal status, or in the attitudes of their social superiors regarding their educational rights and needs. To be sure, in the meantime something will be done for the education of the poor, but almost without exception it will be conditioned by the condescension

of philanthropy or limited to the barest rudiments of religious instruction as befitting the needs of the poor.

THE CHANGED POSITION OF THE NOBILITY

The tightening of the alliance between the growing power of the kings and the money power of the towns tended to destroy the feudal organization of society and to cause the kings to develop, in place of the feudal army of knights, standing armies of paid soldiers. Even before the employment of gunpowder, in the late fifteenth century, the art of war had been considerably changed through the increased dependence placed on foot soldiers armed with pikes and bows, but with the general use of gunpowder and shooting arms the day of the armored knight was past. A new form of army organization, with chief emphasis upon infantry, was developed and increased attention came to be paid to matters of strategy and tactics, the arrangement of defenses, fortifications, and army supply. The former class of noble champions at single combat became the leaders of the new armies and their new rôle was vastly more complicated from the intellectual standpoint than had been their old one. The knight had been an expert in personal feats of arms; the new captain needed in some sense to be a military engineer.

Another change in the military system developed through the more important part that came in the sixteenth century to be assigned to sea power. Ships of the line, armed with cannon, were as important from the standpoint of military success as regiments of foot soldiers and the impregnable walls of

military fortresses. Captains of ships, like Hawkins and Drake, Gilbert and Raleigh, were the mainstay of England in the sixteenth century, and the rise of Spain, Portugal, and Holland to power in the same century was largely dependent upon their strength on the sea. It is obvious that the technical knowledge required for navigation, gunnery, and the sanitary care of a complement of sailors and soldiers made new and advanced educational demands upon those who would serve their king and their country as captains of war vessels.

The same practical invention that declassed the armed knight as a soldier made his stronghold indefensible against the king's cannon, so, in the course of the sixteenth century, the nobility betook themselves to the king's court, which now came to be in a pre-eminent degree the center of public business and of fashion. No longer did the king support his public service exclusively through the ecclesiastical preferences which were at his disposal. New financial resources had come to be at his command and the civil service in itself had come to represent opportunities for substantial careers. Members of the middle class were employed in large numbers in the courts and in the administration of the kings, and the nobility became their trusty councilors, ambassadors, and captains. The former knight had become established in all the courts of Europe as participant in its business or in its social whirl. The man of arms, whose chivalric education had made provision for the arts of pleasing and for distinguished social intercourse, became the courtier,

the gentleman, the *dilettant*. Just as in the case of his Italian prototype, the physical arts of self-protection continued to be essential in the life that he led and he needed to be proficient in the use of small arms and in horsemanship. However, in addition to those old skills and social graces of the knight,

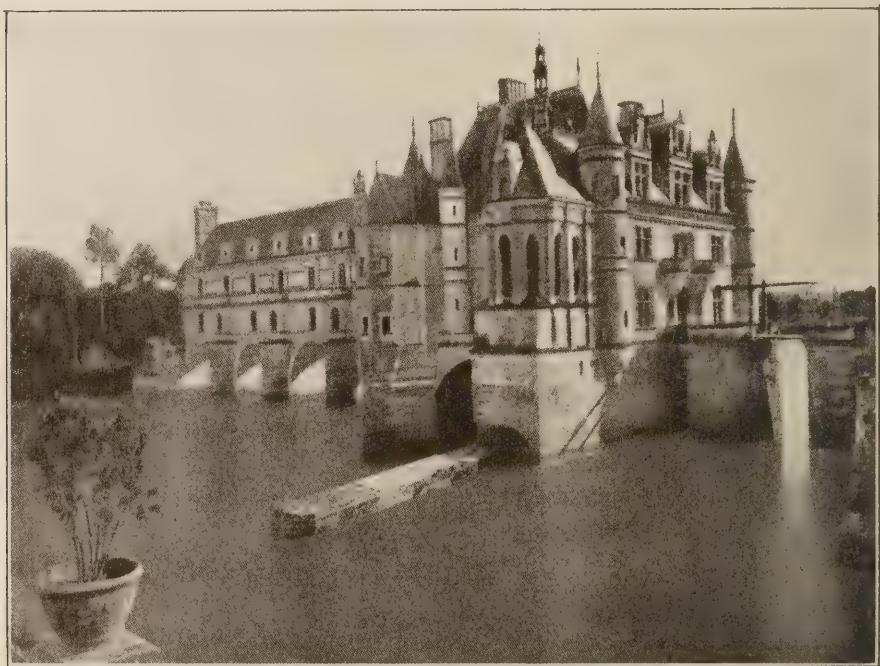


Fig. 54. — Château of Chenonceaux in Touraine, France. This chateau was built in the sixteenth century and illustrates the change in the life of the nobility which had taken place by then. The heavy towers of the front part of the structure are reminiscent of the fortress castles of the Middle Ages, while the light and beauty and spaciousness of the whole identify it as a splendid palace of pleasure.

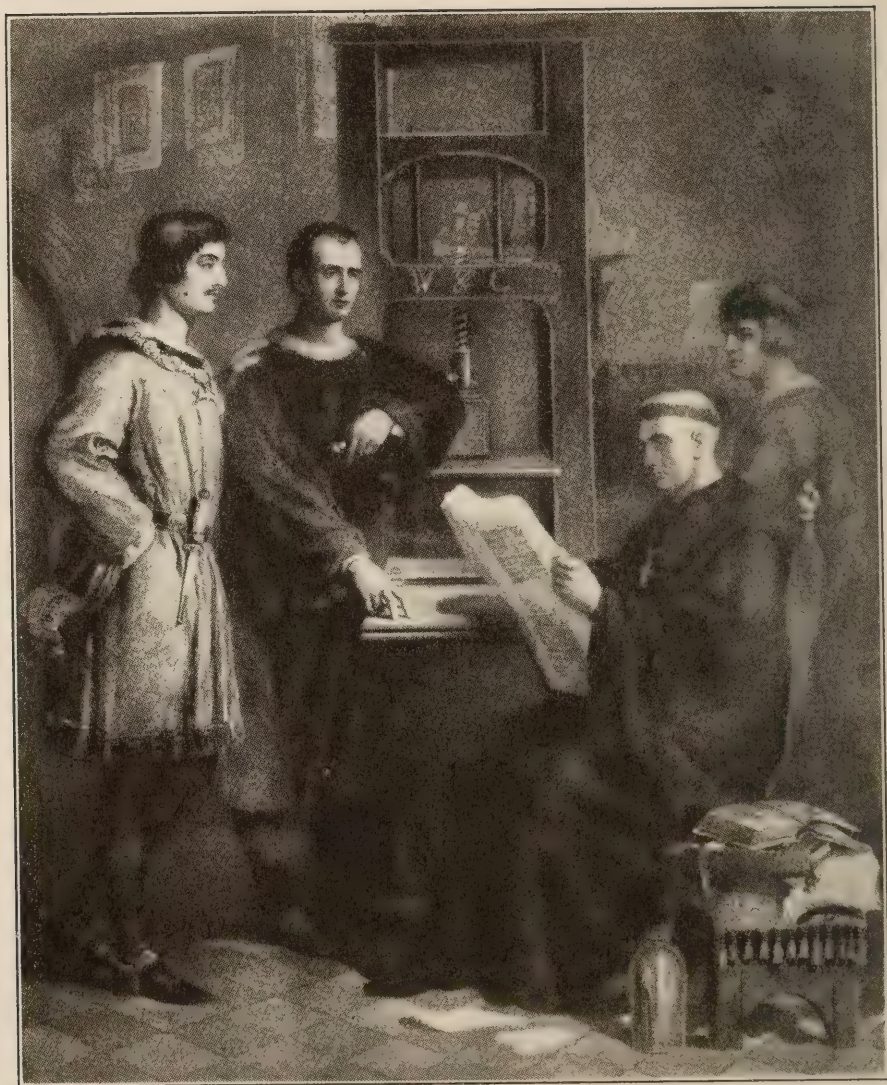
he found that a considerable range of intellectual training was essential to his success. As Latin was the language of formal record and of international communication, he needed, above all, to possess some competence in reading and writing and speaking

that language, while the new requirements of leadership in war called for technical knowledge which the knightly career found no call for.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART OF PRINTING

No more significant change has ever occurred in the history of Western education than that which centers about the invention of movable type, the perfecting of the art of making paper, and their combined use in the publication of books. This momentous change in the conditions of learning occurred at the middle of the fifteenth century and in itself alone is worthy to be regarded as the end of the first era of education and the beginning of the last to date. Whether it was Coster at Harlem or Gutenberg at Mainz who deserves credit for the first practicable development of the art is relatively unimportant in this connection. The important thing is that the new invention spread like wildfire. It is said that before the end of the century the names of fifteen hundred printers are known, from almost all the countries of Europe and the titles of about thirty thousand printed works. "Assuming that the editions were small, averaging three hundred copies, there would have been in Europe by 1500, about nine million books, as against the few score thousand manuscripts that lately had held all the precious lore of time. In a few years the price of books sank to one-eighth of what it had been before."¹

¹ Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, Henry Holt and Company.



Courtesy of Mr. George A. Plimpton

Fig. 55. — Caxton's Press, from an old painting. The Earl of Rivers is represented as standing with his hand on the shoulder of William Caxton, the first English printer. The Abbot of Westminster is reading proof, while to the rear at the right is standing Caxton's assistant, Wynken de Worde.

Metricefuge

Thou oughtest to flee the compyn & folysse wymmen
 andz the balldes andz theyr deceptions / For they ben
 more subtil than the deuyll / I am thou oughtest to
 holde the by thy wyf yf thou be marryed / Saynt Gaspar
 sayth that he is a folle whiche loueth his goodz andz trewe wyf
 andz holdeth other compyn wymmen in his felawshyp / Peter
 alphons refereth in his booke / that in spayne wythyn the cyty
 of hyspalensy was a moche fayre andz a good bourgeys wyf
 andz wel beloued of her husbondz / It happed that a ponge
 clerke was enamoured of hyr / andz many tymes prayd &
 requyred hir of loue / but for no thyng she wold neuer con
 sente to hit / Thanne when the clerke saide that he was refu
 sed he entred in to such a malencolye / that letter he seemed to
 be deed / thenne on eyue / but nyght his folwe dwellyd a ma
 querel or balde whiche had grete acqweyntaunce wyth the
 sayd bourgeys / Andz when the sayd balde knele that the
 sayd clerke was in such poynce / he came for to speke wyth
 hym andz demaunded of hym what he eyled andz why he was
 in so grete malencolye andz comforted hym andz dyd so moche
 that she knele al his fayr / Andz in dede the clerke made har
 geyn wyth the sayd olde balde for to fynde the meanes that
 he myght haue his pleasure of the sayd bourgeys wyf and for
 to fulfyll his wyll andz his entencion / This olde balde had
 a lytel catte whiche she named pasquette the which she kepte
 wythout ony mete or drynke the space of thre dayes / and af
 ter she gaue to the catte a lytel fleshe wyth right stronge
 mustard / andz after she wente for to speke wyth the sayd
 bourgeys wyf andz ledde wyth hir her lytel catte / but because
 that she had eten the sayd mustard she dyd none other but
 wepte euer / Andz thenne the good wyf demaunded of the
 balde why her catte wepte andz spaked so sore / Andz she
 spyghnyng andz wepyng answered / Helas my lady / my catte
 whiche ye see andz I haue cause ynough for to wepe / wherfore
 sayd the wyf I praye you that ye wyll telle to me the cause /
 Helas sayd the olde balde / my lady I dar not telle hit to you
 Neuerthelesse the bourgeys wyf prayd hyr so moche / that she

Courtesy New York Public Library

Fig. 56. — A page from *The Book Called Caton*, printed by William Caxton in 1483.

Most popular by far, of all books, was the Bible. It was printed in Latin for those who could read the learned language, but for the use of the common man literally dozens of translations into the various vernaculars of Europe were run off before the end of the fifteenth century. Early editions were printed of the standard Latin classics in the fifteenth century and before the end of the sixteenth practically the entire list of Greek authors that we know to-day had been added to the list of available books. The tireless presses became the means of spreading broadcast the productions in the vernacular of a host of new writers, of which the great Elizabethan dramatists and poets were the most conspicuous English examples, but which had their parallel among Italian, Spanish, and French authors. The great religious conflict of the sixteenth century was largely dependent upon the press for its means of offensive and defensive and it has been said that without the aid which it derived from the art of printing the great schism of the sixteenth century would have gone down in history as only one of other unsuccessful heresies. The work of the school and the university was no less affected by the new art. A wider range of subject matter of instruction could be placed in the hands of the student and new methods of teaching and learning could be made use of.

When books became part of the usual equipment of the well-to-do home, and when the reading of books became a part of the ordinary means of recreation, the demand naturally arose for an education that would make available to its fullest extent this

Genesis

fuis cōtra omnes. et manus omniū
cōtra eū. Et regione uniuersos frang
suis sicut tabernacula. Vocauit autē
agar nomē dñi qui loquebat ad eū.
tu deus qui uidisti me. Dicit enī. Pro
fecto hic uidi postea et cō uidentis me.
Propriā appellauit puerū illū. puerū
uiuentis et uidētis me. Hic ē inter cades
et barad. Pēpūq; agar abre filiū. qui
uocauit nomen eius ysmahel. Dēto
ginta sex annos erat abram. qūdo
pēpū ē agar ysmahelēu. Cap. xvi.

Postq; uero nonaginta et octidu
ānos esse cepit apparuit ei dē.
Dicitq; ad eū. Ego dñs omnipotēs.
Ambula coram me. et esto perfectus.
Quoniamq; sedus meū inter me et te.
et multiplicabo te ueluteni nimis. Eci
dic abram pronus in facie. Dicitq;
ei deus. Ego sum. et ponam padum
meū tecum. estq; pater multarū genitū.
Nec ultra uocabit nomē tuū abram.
sed appellaberis abraham. quia pater
multarū genitū cōstitui te. Faciāq; te
refectē ueluteniāssimē. et ponā te in
genitib; regēq; te et egredierē. et statuā
padū meū inter me et te. et inter semē
tuū post te. in generationibus tuis.
sedet sempiternus ut sim deus tuus. et
seminis tui post te. Daboq; tibi et semi
ni tuo post te terrā pēgenatōis
te. omne terrā chanaān. in possessio
nem eternā. etq; deus eorū. Dicit itē
dē ad abrahā. Et tu ego custodiet
padū meū. et semē tuū post te in gene
rationib; suis. Hoc est padū meū qd
obseruabis inter me et uos et semē
tūū post te. Circūdēt ē; uobis omne
masculinū. et circūdētē carnē spūcū
uestri. ut sit in signū fedēis inter me et
uos. Infans octo dieb; circūcidet in uo
bis. Omne masculinū in generationib;

uestis. tam uenaculus q; suptricus
circūcidet. et quicūq; fuerit de sarpe
uēa. Etq; padū meū in carne uēa in
fedus eternū. Masculus cui⁹ propici
raro circūcisa nō fuerit. delebit anima
illa te ipso suo. quia padū meū et cū
fecit. Dicit q; dē ad abrahā. Faci
uxorē tuā nō uocabis sarai. sed sa
rām. Et benedicā ei. et illā dabo tibi
filium cui benedicurus sum. Etq; in
nācōnes. et reges ipso; orientur et cō.
Ecce dicit abrahā in facie suā. et risit
in corde suo dicens. Puratus cenita
rio nāscet filius. et sarā nonagennaria
pariet. Dicitq; ad dñm. Quāā ysmā
hel uiuat corā te. Et ait dñs ad abra
hā. Sara uxor tua pariet tibi filiū.
uocabitq; nomē ei⁹ ysaac. Et cōstitū
padū meū illi in fedus sempiternū. et
semini eius post eū. Sup ysmahel q;
exaudiui te. Ecce benedicā ei. et augebō
et multiplicabo eū ualde. Duo decem
duces gēnabit. et faciā illū refectē in
gēnē magnā. Padū uēd meū statuā
ad ysaac. quē pariet tibi sarā qpe isto
in anno altero. Tūq; hūit⁹ esset se
mo loquens eū cō. ascendit deus ab
abrahā. Tulit autē abrahā ysmā
hel filiū suū. et omnes uenaculos dom⁹
sue. uniuersos quos euerat. et audios
maris et omnib; vicis domus sue. et
circūdicit carnem spūcū eorū. statim i
ipā die sicut pēpar ei deus. Abrahā
nonagennarius uē erat annos. qūdo
circūdicit carnē spūcū sui. et ysmahel
filius suus octidē annos impleue
rat. qpe circūcisionis sue. Eadem die
circūcissus ē abrahā. et ysmahel fili⁹
eius. et omnes uiri domus illi. tam
uenaculi q; suptrici et alienigeni pa

Apparuit autē ei dñs in conuallē

Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library

Fig. 57. — A page from the Gutenberg Bible, printed c. 1455 at Mainz.

new personal resource. As the vernaculars were relatively little developed in the sixteenth century and by far the greatest treasures of literature were locked up in the Latin and the Greek, and since Latin continued to be the language of official international intercourse, of university instruction, and of weighty publication, it was but natural that the greatest stress in the schools should be laid upon the teaching of the classics.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that many a man of very moderate circumstances was enabled by the cheapness of books to own a few of them and that if he could not read his Bible or other books in the classical tongues he could read them in the vernacular. The reading public in the sixteenth century was far wider than the numbers included on the rolls of grammar schools and universities, and many persons took vast enjoyment out of reading who had picked up the art in altogether informal ways or through the instruction of a school dame or some other obscure and unrecorded agency.

THE NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL CLIENTELE

It must be fairly evident that the combination of circumstances to consideration of which this chapter has been devoted had created a new public as far as general education, or secondary education, is concerned. The solid burgher, enjoying comfort and financial security, came to take it as matter of course that his son should go to school and learn to read Latin and, perhaps, Greek. If the boy should take it into his head to enter a profession,

or perhaps to enter the king's civil service, such training would be essential, and it was a time when the richer and more ambitious members of the middle class were working their way, by one means or another, into the ranks of the professions and the nobility. But even if the boy should follow in his father's footsteps, there were uses for a superior education in the counting house and in international business or as a resource of leisure time.

The young scion of a noble house likewise found himself in an environment which called for at least a grammar school education. If he wished to cut a figure at court or to make a career for himself in the king's service, at least a minimum of classical education was absolutely essential. The wits at court were continually quoting from Latin authors or reciting some clever Latin couplet which they had composed, or some pompous ambassador from a foreign court would be delivering an address in the same ubiquitous tongue, or there would be the matter of a treaty of peace written in Latin with the terms of which he would have to be familiar. So there was no other way about it: he had to learn Latin and such Greek as was thrown in with it; and learn it he did. There were many other necessary accomplishments which he had to pick up somewhere, but it was in the school or from a tutor that he received his literary education.

From these two sources then — the middle class, with their increased numbers and wealth and their rising social ambition, and the nobility, transferred

from the rural castle to the king's court — was created a new and enlarged secondary school clientele.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. SMITH, P., *The Age of the Reformation*, Henry Holt and Co., 1923, Chs. IX–XIV. — This is a recent and comprehensive account of the social conditions of the sixteenth century in Western Europe. Contains an excellent account of the development of printing.

2. HAYES, C. H. J., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Macmillan, 1916, Vol. I, Ch. II. — Describes the Commercial Revolution.

3. CHENEY, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*, Macmillan, 1901, Chs. V and VI. — Shows the changes in English society which directly or indirectly affected educational conditions in that country.

CHAPTER XVI

CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION RESULTING FROM THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

The decline of the papacy. — In the discussion of the political developments of the later Middle Ages (see p. 282) it was seen that the central problem of political theory turned on the distribution of sovereignty between the universal church and the various national states which were developing power and self-consciousness. The thirteenth century saw the papacy at its height, with many temporal rulers, kings and princes, acknowledging the suzerainty of the pope; but the fourteenth century was one of humiliation and loss of power and prestige for the church as a factor in European politics. For the greater part of that century the popes resided at Avignon, near the French border, and were completely under the influence of the French kings, while for a period of almost forty years (1378–1417) there were two rival popes, and for a time still a third claimant to the chair of St. Peter. The lack of unity in church policy which resulted from this division over the papacy greatly weakened the church as a political factor, and, although an orderly and undisputed succession was secured as a result of the Council of Constance (1414–1418), the papacy during the entire fifteenth century cut an insignifi-

cant figure in European politics. The popes were temporal sovereigns of the middle portion of Italy and were constantly embroiled in Italian politics and its complications with the rivalries of French and Spanish kings and the Holy Roman emperors. The popes were chosen by a limited oligarchy as representing the interests of the most important powers of Italy, and the influence of the papacy was mainly local. Popes vied with the other rulers of Italy in the patronage of artists and the cultivation of learning, while their personal lives and the morals of the papal Curia reflected the aestheticism and moral looseness of the later stages of the humanistic revival in Italy.

Accompanying the decline in the authority of the papacy occurred the assertion of the interests and powers of the national kings over the church within their domains. England had asserted the right of the civil authority to tax church property and to control the appointment of higher church officials and had put an end to appeals from English courts to the pope's court at Rome. In France, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, issued in 1438 by Charles VII, proclaimed the liberties of the Gallican Church. This royal decree declared the power of a general church council to be superior to that of the popes, forbade the taxation of any French diocese by the popes, and gave the civil authorities control over church appointments as well as authority in matters of general ecclesiastical administration in France. The *Parlement* of Paris, which was the supreme judicial body in France, and the University

of Paris, which represented intellectual leadership, were the originators of this theory of the independence of the national church of France and for a long time its persistent champions.

Hardly less backward than English and French sovereigns in assertion of their prerogatives were the Holy Roman emperors and the kings of Spain and Portugal. Accordingly, we see that in the sixteenth century, without consideration of the great doctrinal schism that rent the church, the national principle of political organization had seriously limited the papal theory of universal supremacy even over ecclesiastical affairs. The development in certain countries of northern Europe in the sixteenth century of sharp differences of doctrine and church administration combined with the theory of the "liberties" of national churches to accomplish a wide and deep division in Christendom.

The religious factors in the Protestant revolt. — The great schism of the sixteenth century was by no means the first of its kind. It was different from the others mainly in that it was largely successful. From the twelfth century on there had always been more or less dissatisfaction smoldering within the church as regards doctrine and administration, and at times this would flame out into active revolt and definite programs of reform. To many persons there was something intellectually repugnant in the worship of the saints, the kissing of relics, the miracle of the mass, the keeping of fasts, the telling of beads, the doing of penance, and that whole range of religious activities which the church had historically

developed through its relationships with ancient paganism and in its ministration to the childish barbarism of the Teutonic tribesmen. Added to this lack of sympathy with the more materialistic side of worship was dissatisfaction over the special authority and the powerful influence of the clergy. The business of salvation seemed to involve too much bookkeeping and too large a force of clerks. Complaints were numerous, too, regarding the failure of the churchmen to conduct their personal lives in accordance with the holy offices which they performed. When drunkenness and ignorance were common among the parish priests, when whole establishments of monks and nuns were by common report unfaithful to their vows, and when the high officials of the church, including even the popes themselves, were worldly men, touched by all the moral obliquities of their age, the conviction grew among thoughtful persons that reform was essential both of the administration of the church and of its doctrines and forms of worship.

With the possible exception of the Albigensian heresy (see p. 286) all the movements for church reform which occurred before the sixteenth century were based upon the purpose of returning to the simpler doctrine and administration which had characterized Christianity in the period represented in New Testament books. The early centuries of the Christian tradition had been characterized by a simple faith, an earnest way of life, and an informal administration of the two rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, which were the only sacraments for

which there was biblical authority. In this direction of return to the thoughts and ways of primitive Christianity had pointed the reform movement of the Waldensians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that of the English followers of Wycliffe in the fourteenth century, and that of the Bohemians under the leadership of John Huss in the fifteenth century.

The influence of the printing press in the matter of church reform. — There can be no doubt that the printing press contributed substantially to the success of the church reform movement in the sixteenth century. It did so in the first place through creating a much more numerous reading public than had existed in the earlier centuries, and in the second place through making available to that public the Bible, with its irrefutable picture of simpler Christian institutions, and carrying broadcast the attacks made by the reformers upon the Catholic hierarchy and the existing system of religious practices. To be sure, the defenders of the church as it was could and did use the press as a means of counterattack, and undoubtedly the press helped to save the Catholic Church as well as to disrupt it. But the printing presses put the Bible into the hands of a wide circle of readers, mainly the middle class. It is a misrepresentation of the truth to say that before the Reformation the Catholic laity were forbidden to read the Bible, although the church held to the theory that individual interpretation of the Bible was a dangerous thing and that the church alone through its official representatives had sole authority in this

respect, and indeed, the chief Protestant sects did no less. In the generation or more following the development of printing and preceding the active outbreak of the Reformation, the personal possession and reading of the Bible must have been very common indeed. It was only after the Protestants laid so much stress upon the individual's private Bible reading and worship that the Catholic party came to see in the indiscriminate use of the Bible a menace to its cause. While the Protestants enlarged upon individual Bible reading as a part of the Christian duty, the Catholics tended to withdraw its use from the lay worshiper. As will be seen later on, this point was of great importance in establishing the Protestant concern for general elementary education as contrasted with the failure of Catholic countries for a long while to pay much attention to public elementary schools.

The Reformation controversy was conducted largely as a pamphlet war. The issues were brought home to a wide reading public, who were invited to draw their conclusions on the basis of arguments presented. Religious controversies ceased to be a matter of exclusive concern to the university students and professors, but, set forth in the vernacular languages and put in the hands of the people through the tireless output of the printing press, they became matters of everyday interest even to those who had no knowledge of Latin. The fact that the Reformation gained most of its support and achieved its success largely — one may say almost entirely — through the adhesion of the middle class, shows at

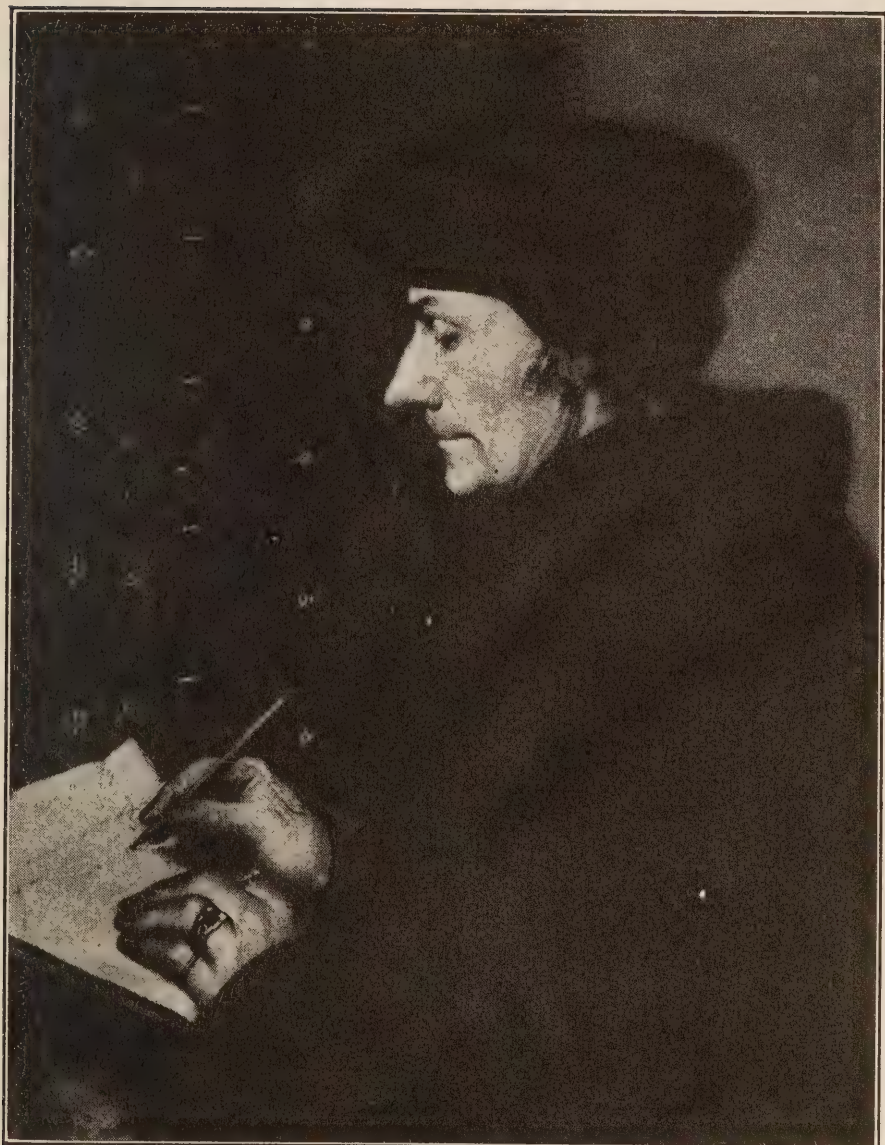
once the educational and the social significance which that new class had achieved in the sixteenth century.

Humanism and the Reformation. — The relationship between the revived study of the whole range of classical literature and the reform movement within the church is a bit ambiguous. In the case of some of the early humanists in Italy, like Petrarch and Vittorino da Feltre, the greatest enthusiasm for the classical learning was united with a sincere regard for the Christian faith and works. Piety and eloquence stood forth as the double aims of learning and instruction. However, the revival of the classics, involving as it did in some measure the development of the historical sense, emphasized the fact that the church in its growth through ten centuries had departed far from its primitive condition. The first conspicuous use of the new literary knowledge to criticize accepted beliefs was made by Laurentius Valla (1406-1456). While in the employ of the King of Aragon (later also of Naples), who was engaging in a controversy with the Pope, Valla made effective use of methods of literary criticism to show that the so-called "Donation of Constantine" on which rested the papal claim to the temporal sovereignty over the papal states, was a forgery. He proved from the vocabulary and internal construction of the document that it could not possibly have been written by an official of Constantine in the fourth century. Valla went still further in attacking the position of the church by showing, from a study and comparison of Greek and Latin manuscripts, that

there were many mistakes, some of which vitally affected church doctrine, in the Vulgate edition of the Bible.

The later Italian development of humanism was rather in the direction of classical paganism than of church reform, and the very general acceptance in sixteenth century Italy of the moral standards and practices of the ancient world is thought to have contributed in no small way to the insensitiveness of that country and era to the demands of the Christian code of conduct.

On the other hand, the interests of the humanists north of the Alps pointed largely in the direction of reform of abuses within the church, enthusiasm for which was stimulated by a larger and more accurate knowledge of doctrinal and church history. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) and John Colet (1456-1519) were at the same time enthusiastic lovers of the new learning and earnest advocates of reform within the church. Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), the great international scholar, was a powerful opponent of the materialistic phases of worship fostered by the church and a scathing critic of the abuses of church administration. Through his scholarly edition of the New Testament in Greek, with copious quotations from the Church Fathers, Erasmus did a great deal to reproduce for the consideration of thoughtful men the primitive Christian age of simple faith and practices. In his *Praise of Folly* he pointed out in telling use of the arts of irony and ridicule many of the current deficiencies of worship and of church administration. In France and Germany



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 58. — Portrait of Erasmus, by Holbein

also, many of the early leaders of humanism directed their study in the interest of moral and ecclesiastical reform.

However, when the full implications of the Protestant revolt were realized, many of the humanist scholars refused to follow the religious leaders. Sir Thomas More, for example, died on the scaffold for refusing to accept Henry VIII as the supreme head of the English Church, and Erasmus remained a Catholic. Many humanists who were sympathetic with the notion of reform saw in the strict positions and stern bigotry of Luther and Calvin an emphasis upon what might, after all, they thought, be regarded as nonessentials to Christian experience. There was within the historic church a wide range of intellectual freedom for men of scholarly habits which the newer sects did not promise, so that many of them chose to remain Catholics, making mental reservations regarding some of the less satisfactory conditions which they found existing and hoping for peaceful orderly reform from within. Humanism made its important contribution to the cause of religious reform, but in the end it remained an intellectual specialty which was not identified exclusively with any religious party.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN GERMANY

When the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, in 1517 nailed a list of ninety-five theses to the castle church door at Wittenberg, he was in true medieval university fashion issuing a general challenge for a debate on the propriety of selling papal indulgences.

This practice, which assumed great proportions in the sixteenth century, was based on the theory of the state of purgatory in which those who had died in the church remained until the adequate performance of church ministrations released them into paradise. The church theory was that works of penance, charity, or worship, on the part of the living were necessary for the translation of their dead friends and relatives. This theory was enlarged further to include the fact that through the administration of the church and the religious works of the saints, a great treasury of good works had been accumulated against which the church might immediately draw. To buy an indulgence was regarded as a contribution to the charitable objects of the church, for which one might count on relief at once for souls in purgatory. In theory, sincere regret for sin and repentance accompanied the purchase of the indulgence, but there can be little doubt as to the gross materialism of much of the sixteenth century sale of these spiritual sight-drafts.

The debate which Martin Luther entered upon led him into a more and more complete rupture with the church. At first he was driven to denying the power of the pope over his (Luther's) individual conscience, and from that position he was forced into a denial of the authority of a General Council of the church, at which point he found himself an outlaw and a branded heretic. Protected by the Elector of Saxony, he translated the Bible into High German and carried the attack upon the institution of celibacy and the five sacraments of the church for

which no specific authorization was found in the New Testament.

The progress of the religious revolt in Germany can be understood only in relationship to the political conditions of Luther's times. In the early sixteenth century there were over three hundred separate and independent German sovereignties, whose only bond of union was in a diet of the Holy Roman Empire, which had little administrative power, and in the titular, but almost empty, leadership of the Holy Roman emperor. The financial exactions of the papal see and the abuses of church administration had caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and bitterness among the German states, so that when Luther raised the banner of revolt against the Roman Curia many of the German sovereignties seized the occasion to declare their independence of the Catholic Church. The independent commercial cities of Germany and a great number of unimportant but independent barons, or knights, were particularly eager to break with Rome, but there were also a number of the larger and more powerful states, such as Saxony and Brandenburg, which gave support to Luther and the forces of reform. The lack of administrative strength in the empire and the preoccupation of the Emperor Charles V in other concerns, allowed the schism to spread and consolidate its positions until there was no longer any hope of bringing the seceding states back into the church universal. After long controversy and considerable fighting the Lutheran revolt was recognized as a *fait accompli* in the terms of the Treaty of Augsburg

in 1555. According to the terms of this treaty the free cities and the princes of each independent sovereignty might choose between the Lutheran and the Catholic faith and their subjects had to accept the official religion or emigrate. If the head of an ecclesiastical state, such as the archbishop of Mainz, became a Lutheran he was to be deposed so that the state would remain within the Catholic Church. All church properties confiscated by the civil authorities before 1552 were to remain in their hands. It is to be noted that the compromise between the Lutheran and the Catholic parties did not include toleration for the Calvinists or any of the minor Protestant sects of the times.

Ecclesiastical and educational administration in the Lutheran states. — The later years of Luther's life were largely devoted to the development of a new system of church administration to take the place of the old. It is to be noted that he developed a strong authoritarian tendency and that the Lutheran Church under his guidance restored to the clergy a large measure of control in spiritual affairs. Superintendents took the place of bishops in church administration and all parish churches were a part of the comprehensive state system. Pastors and higher church officials were under the civil administration and owed their appointment to the head of the state. The Augsburg Confession was accepted as the rule of faith and practice in the Lutheran communions, and it became necessary to establish new rules concerning the ordination of ministers, the ministration of the sacraments, the conduct of the church services, and

Kirchenordnung:
Wie es mit Christlich-
er Lere / reichung der Sacrament /
Ordination der Diener des Euangelij / ordenlt-
chen Ceremonien / in den Kirchen / Visitation /
Consistorio vnd Schulen / zu Witteberg
vnd in etlichen Chur vnd Fürstenthum /
Herrschaften vnd Stedte der Augs-
burgischen Confession ver-
ane gehalten
wird.



Witteberg:

Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft.

1 5 5 9.

Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 59. — Title-page of the *Kirchenordnung* of Wittenberg, printed in 1559.

Das vierde teil von 133

erhaltung Christlicher Schulen vnd
Studien.



Er allmechtige Gott hat sich aus grosser Barmhertzigkeit gegen den Menschen/vmb seines lieben Sohns willen für vnd für mit gewissen zeugnis geoffenbaret/vnd seinegnedige Verheissung geben / vnd hat diese seine Offenbarungen/vnd seine Lere durch die Propheten vnd Aposteln / in gewisse Schrifften fassen lassen. Er hat auch selb die Zehen gebot in steinern Tafel geschrieben/Vnd hat geboten/das man der Propheten vnd Aposteln bücher lesen vnd lernen sol/ Ja wir sind also daran gebunden/das keine Kirch Gottes ist/wo nicht diese einige Lere / die in der Propheten vnd Aposteln Büchern gefasset ist/bekant vnd angenommen ist/vnd für vnd für andern furgetragen vnd verkündigt wird.

So man nu aus den selbigen Büchern die Lere lernen mus/ so ist hoch nötig/das etliche sind die lesen können / Vnd wer andere vnterrichten sol / der musslib zuvor bey sich/ ein ordenliche Summa der gantzen Lere haben/vnd wissen wo vnd wie alle Artikel in Göttlicher schrift nach einander gegründet vnd erklet sind.

Vnd damit man gewis sey vom verstand Göttlicher Schrift/ müssen viel sein / die der Propheten vnd Apostel sprach verstehen/vnd vom gründlichen verstand bericht thun/vnd zeugnis geben können.

I Vnd

Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 60. — A page from the *Kirchenordnung* of Wittenberg, 1559, which deals with the provision of schools.

a thousand and one other details of church management. The *Kirchenordnungen*, or “Rules of Church Administration,” through which these changes were effected are of definite interest in regard to education because of the relationship which the church had to the conduct of the schools. We have seen how the bishop of the church universal in the Middle Ages held the key position in educational administration in that all schoolmasters were licensed by the chancellor or some other member of his official staff. The former authority of the bishops in the matter of education was transferred to that part of the civil administrations which had charge of religious affairs, and the schools and institutions of learning were regarded as adjuncts of the churches or as a part of the ecclesiastical system. It is for this reason that the earliest available information about the position of schools in the new state churches is to be gained through the *Kirchenordnungen*.

Confiscation and redirection of church properties.

— The many rich properties of the church, including church buildings, cathedrals, monasteries, nunneries, and chantries, fell into the hands of the civil authorities upon the break with Rome. Some of this property was continued in the service of religion, some of it was sold and the proceeds of the sales were put into the civil treasury, while in other cases foundations were converted to the use and support of educational institutions. The immediate result of the Reformation, combined with a great deal of fighting and violence, was highly disadvantageous to education and for a time it looked

as though schools and learning would disappear entirely.

The grave danger to education was quickly recognized by Luther, Melanchthon, and other reformers, who pressed its great importance upon the governing bodies of cities and upon the princes of Germany. In his famous *Letter to the German Nobility*, which was one of his calls to religious reform, Luther pointed out the necessity of reorganizing the grammar schools and universities on Protestant and humanistic lines. In his *Letter to the Burgomasters and Councillors of German cities* (1524), he stressed the importance of the study of the learned languages for the true comprehension of the scriptures and pointed out the duty of Christian magistrates to provide schools so that in all cities there might be "a great store of citizens learned, wise, honorable, and of goodly nurture." The third great pronouncement of Luther on education is found in his *Sermon on the Duty of Keeping Children at School* (1530), in which he says that the supreme necessity of having competent ministers of the gospel, judges, magistrates, and other administrative officials for the welfare of society placed it within the rights of the magistrates to compel parents to send their children to school just as they compel them to bear arms in the common defense. The great authority of Luther and the zeal of his co-laborers turned the tide in favor of educational provision, and the princes and the magistrates of the cities recognized their responsibility for keeping up the educational work which the church had formerly fostered. Among Lutheran educational leaders the

greatest influence was exerted by Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) and Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558) both of whom were Luther's colleagues in the University of Wittenberg.

In the case of the free towns, little change in educational policy from the practice of the later Middle Ages was necessary, for we have already noted the tendency of the German towns to contest the authority of the chancellor or scholasticus over the schools which the town fathers had established and were maintaining (see p. 347). After the Reformation, the power of the chancellor was wiped out and the maintenance of schools became an undivided municipal responsibility. At the same time that the schools were passing under the exclusive control of the town councils, they were being reorganized with respect to their curriculum as humanistic schools. It was in this double change, involving administration and studies, that the advice and assistance of Bugenhagen and Melancthon were of so great importance.

In the case of some of the states, among others Württemberg, Saxony, and Brandenburg, the princely heads of state reorganized some of the ecclesiastical foundations and applied the proceeds to the maintenance of territorial schools, which remained under civil administration. In 1453 Maurice of Saxony founded three such schools, which were called *Land-oder Fürstenschulen* (Schools of the Country or of the Count). They were to receive pupils who had already mastered the rudiments of Latin and were to prepare them for the universities. Nominations to the two hundred and thirty places in these

schools were to be made by the cities of Saxony, by the nobility, and by the sovereign himself. Schools of like nature were the *Klosterschulen* (Convent Schools) of Württemberg and the state schools at Stettin and Joachimstal in what later became the Kingdom of Prussia.

The new status of the universities in Germany. — The Protestant Reformation added greatly to the numbers of German universities and resulted also in the administrative reform of such as were in existence. The head of each German Lutheran state, large or small, was also head of the church, and as such it seemed important to him that the source of theological doctrine should be kept pure. Accordingly, each independent sovereignty tended to develop its own university or higher school for the purpose of preparing the ministers of the church. The universities lost the independence which the medieval form of organization had given them and they became directly subject to the crown. Professors were appointed by the civil administration and the control of policy was taken out of their hands and exercised by the head of the state.

The beginning of state school systems. — The interest of some of the more enlightened sovereigns of the Lutheran states did not stop at the development of a few centers of learning, but led as well to the drawing up of school regulations which were designed to introduce order and efficiency into the efforts of communities to establish schools. One of the most famous of these efforts was embodied in the "School Regulations of Saxony," drawn up by Mel-

anchthon in 1527. The chief concern of the civil administration was over secondary education, for the three grades of school which were provided in this plan were all Latin schools. The first school plan which included provision for elementary schools in the vernacular was that of Württemberg, in 1559. This plan provided for schools in which the children of the masses might receive instruction in reading and writing (in German), in music, and in religion. Such schools were to be set up in every village and were to be taught by lower church officials "who were to be relieved from beadle and mass services in the churches" evidently as a stand-off against their teaching labors. The foundations of a classical education were to be given in Latin schools (*Particularschulen*), of six grades when fully organized, and these were to be preparatory to the lower Cloister schools, which were to prepare boys for service in the church. Above these were higher Cloister schools which were to fit pupils for entrance to the state university at Tübingen, where they were to receive the professional training essential for higher official careers in church and state. The school plans of Saxony and Württemberg are illustrative of the shift in responsibility for education and the change in educational administration which were brought about by the Reformation in Germany.

The Lutheran elementary school. — A word deserves to be said about the instruction in the vernacular which came to be given in connection with the Lutheran churches. The new form of church service stressed the sermon, responsive readings, congrega-

tional singing, and prayer, and the great interest in church doctrines led to much emphasis on learning the catechism as a part of the full religious duty. The new demands on the worshiper implied a knowledge of reading in the vernacular. One is tempted to make the deduction that church and civil leaders, appreciating the necessity for a vernacular school, immediately set about supplying such schools universally. The real situation was, however, not nearly so simple and definite as that. In the first place, in practically all the towns of Germany before the sixteenth century, elementary schools in the vernacular had developed in response to social needs other than religious. We know, too, that all through the Reformation period and well into the eighteenth century, unauthorized private schools, often of an extremely nondescript sort, existed beside the authorized vernacular schools. The early church regulations took cognizance of vernacular schools and the authority of the pastor over such schools was asserted. In many cases, the sexton or some other minor church official was designated as the teacher, and as late as the middle of the eighteenth century Julius Hecker established a seminary for "sextons and schoolmasters." On the other hand, tailors and shoemakers or disabled men frequently served as schoolmasters in the German communities of the sixteenth century.

The conclusions that may be drawn are: that the vernacular school spread from the cities and towns even into insignificant hamlets and villages as the result of the new religious need of being able to read;

Rain tödtet seinen Bruder.



Siehe Geschichte 6. Seite 90.

Leib und Leben deiner Brüder

Schade nie; — Gott straft dich wieder.

Daß

Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 61. — A page from the *Kindesbuchlein* of Martin Luther

Das fünfte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht tödten

Was ist das?

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unserm Nächsten an seinem Leibe keinen Schaden noch Leid thun, sondern ihm helfen und fördern in allen Leibesnöthen.

Der

Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 62. — A page from the *Kindesbuchlein* of Martin Luther, which faces the page shown as Figure 61.

that sometimes the minor church officials or the pastors of small churches served as schoolmasters; that there were many authorized and unauthorized private vernacular schools; that where authorized vernacular schools existed which were not taught by minor church officials, they were nevertheless under the supervision of the local pastor. The church apparently was slow in organizing any real system of elementary schools, although a very general development of vernacular schools occurred in connection with the new religious situation. It is almost unnecessary to say that such elementary schools as developed had as their main purpose teaching children to read the Bible in German, and that the curriculum was exclusively composed of selections from the Bible, the catechism, and church hymns.

The main interest of Luther, Melanchthon, and all the other great educational leaders of the Lutheran Reformation was the secondary, or Latin schools, which were for the middle and upper classes, and whose mission was to prepare for civil and church careers or to improve the intelligence of the more important portion of sixteenth century society. The Peasant Wars, which took place in the early years of the Protestant revolt, resulted in the triumph of the middle and upper classes and in the retrogression of the common people. The Reformation was a doctrinal and a political, but not a humanitarian development. The leaders of the church were not greatly concerned about the education of the common people and for over two centuries, taking

Germany as a whole, the vernacular elementary schools remained in a miserable state of inefficiency and neglect.

CALVIN AND PRESBYTERIANISM

At the same time that Luther and his co-laborers were organizing Lutheran doctrines and church administration in Germany, John Calvin (1509-1564), was developing a form of Protestant belief and practice which was destined to have wide adoption and ultimately to influence the religious, civil, and educational development of the American colonies. Calvin was a Frenchman, but he spent most of his mature years in Geneva, where he was the undisputed dictator in a theocratic state which he organized to accord with his moral and religious principles. In his religious thought, Calvin went even farther in the direction of biblical precedent than did Luther. He adopted the Jewish sabbath, gave the pastors an almost Levitical authority over their congregations, and rejected all the color and pageantry of the Catholic service, even to the point of removing stained glass windows from the churches and silencing the musical instruments which had been employed in worship. For Calvin the Bible became indeed the source of all authority and he rejected completely the accretions to church doctrine and the developments of church administration which had taken place following the apostolic age. In some respects, however, there were elements of democracy in the Calvinistic system of church administration. The congregation had the right to choose their own

pastors and both laymen and ordained ministers were represented in the government of the local church. Where state churches were developed, as in the United Netherlands, or Holland, and in Scotland, the supreme authority resided in the Synod of the Church, which was composed of representatives, both lay and ministerial, from the presbyteries, which in turn represented smaller groupings of the individual congregations.

Calvinism made extraordinary demands upon the individual church member. For admission to the full communion of the church he had to give evidence of a real personal experience of religion. Private reading of the scripture was greatly stressed and each head of a family was expected to conduct family worship in his home. In addition each church member was expected to know the grounds of his belief as based upon scripture and the catechism. Such implications presupposed the ability of church members to read and formed the basis of the interest which the Calvinistic churches showed in elementary education.

At the same time, the doctrines of the faith as set forth in Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* represented a new scholasticism, for the understanding and defense of which all the instrumentalities of logic and philosophy were necessary. For this reason, the Calvinists were interested also in the establishment of higher institutions of learning for the preparation of a learned ministry, competent to expound and defend the faith.

The social and educational implications of Calvin-

ism are to be seen in the theocratic state which Calvin developed at Geneva in the sixteenth century. The government of the city was in charge of the clergy, who met in a body called the Congregation, to which were added twelve elders of the churches, chosen by the ministers. All laws were passed by the Congregation, and all administrative and judicial functions were lodged in the same body. A most repressive system of "blue laws," affecting the individual in both his public and private life and involving espionage over his most personal affairs was put into effect and carried out with a high degree of efficiency. A part of the Calvinistic social program was the establishment of vernacular schools, in which strong emphasis was laid on religious instruction, and of a system of secondary and higher education in the *Collège* of Geneva. Stress was here laid on the teaching of the languages which were at once necessary for participation in the higher intellectual intercourse of the age and for the study of the Scriptures in the original languages. Provision was also made for instruction in logic and philosophy, which were the instruments of theological controversy. The administration of the educational system was directly under the control of the Congregation.

Calvinism in France.—The critical attitude toward much of church doctrine and many phases of ecclesiastical administration, which we have observed to have been very general in Europe in the latter part of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, was to be found in France also. At the time of Luther's break with the Roman

Church, many Frenchmen were interested in his contentions and he had some following. The University of Paris declared against him, however, and the King and the *Parlement* of Paris saw in the Lutheran doctrines real dangers to the state. Accordingly the power of the civil administration, backed up by the supreme intellectual authority in France, was brought to bear against the heresy. In spite of all opposition, however, the Protestant doctrines took root and prospered, mainly among the members of the middle class living in the towns and cities. The French Protestants came to be called Huguenots, and they followed the teachings of Calvin. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Huguenots had become an important political party in France, and in 1559 active conflict between them and the Catholics was precipitated. For forty years following, France was torn by a merciless and bloody civil war between these political-religious factions, which was ended by the publication of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. This settlement of the religious question was extremely favorable to the Huguenots, who were given, according to its terms, full liberty of conscience and very generous rights of public worship in an officially Catholic country. A state within a state was set up when two hundred towns and cities, some of them garrisoned walled towns, were left in the hands of the Huguenots, where they constituted the government and were at liberty to practice fully and freely their religion and in which they developed characteristic educational institutions, modeled after those of Geneva.

Calvinism in Holland. — Among the most significant accessions to Calvinism was that of the United Netherlands, or Holland. In the early part of the sixteenth century Lutheran and Anabaptist beliefs had penetrated Holland and in spite of bitter persecution had made considerable headway. However, in the latter half of the century the influence of Calvin became paramount among the solid burghers of the northern part of the Low Countries. They found in the democratic organization of the Calvinistic church a system of church administration which corresponded closely to their aspirations for freedom in civil government, occupied as they were in a bitter struggle throughout a great part of the sixteenth century against Philip II, King of Spain, who was determined both to gain full political control over the rich cities of the Netherlands for financial reasons and to extirpate religious heresy in that part of his dominion. Accordingly the struggle of the United Netherlands against Spain came to be a war for political and religious independence. When Holland finally won free from Spain late in the sixteenth century, Calvinism, as represented in the Dutch Reformed Church, was the religious belief of the population of wealthy and substantial burghers who were the source of the political government of the United Netherlands. In this middle class population resided at one and the same time the control of the church and the state, both of which were organized on a basis of popular representation. The people elected to administer education through the civil government rather than the church, but

when the great synods of the Dutch Reformed Church pronounced upon educational affairs they were truly the mouthpiece of the politically responsible portion of Dutch society.

The Reformation in Holland did not create schools, either elementary or higher, for the first time, and only slightly changed the basis of their administration. The remnants of medieval church authority over education were swept away and where higher institutions were established they were without dependence on the authority of pope or emperor. There can be little doubt, however, that the intellectual demands of the Calvinistic religion joined with the educational needs of the burgher class and the exigencies of a thriving commercial life in the stimulation of Dutch education.

Although the earlier synods of the Dutch national church had taken cognizance of education, the pronouncement of the great national synod at Dort in 1618 may be taken as the summation of the development of popular education in Holland under Calvinistic auspices. In the regulations promulgated by that body for the control of elementary education, the closest union of the educational functions of the family, the school, and the church was called for. Heads of families were to conduct family worship and to give their children instruction in the Bible and the church catechism. Schools were to be instituted not only in cities but in the smaller country places where none had previously existed, "in which the young shall be properly instructed in the principles of Christian doctrine." The civil magistrates

were made responsible for the employment and support of well-qualified schoolmasters, who were to give free instruction to the children of the poor. Only members of the Reformed Church who gave special evidence of their good character, knowledge of church doctrine, and soundness in the faith, were eligible for the office of schoolmaster. Full coöperation of the school with the church was secured through the provision that the schoolmaster should take his children to the services and question them upon the doctrinal instruction given by the pastor in his sermons. The supervision of the elementary schools was under the local pastor, who was directed to visit the schools frequently, accompanied by one of his elders and, if necessary, a magistrate. The curriculum was almost entirely religious in character, although it is significant that by the middle of the seventeenth century, some emphasis was laid upon instruction regarding the heroic struggle of the Dutch for independence.

Scotch and English Calvinism. — The Scotch Reformation was accomplished largely during the third quarter of the sixteenth century under the leadership of John Knox. This dominating personality had learned his lesson of strict purification of the church ritual and practice at the feet of Calvin at Geneva, and he also took with him to Scotland the puritanical code of morals which ruled in that city. The religious revolution in Scotland was accomplished through a political union of the middle class and the nobility against the Crown, but in its final form the Scotch Reformation placed political

power fully in the hands of the middle class burgesses, the low-born ministers of the church, and the gentry. This shift of political control was accomplished largely by means of the predominant power which was won by the organized Presbyterian church. It is to be recalled that according to the Presbyterian form of church administration, the responsible members of the local churches sent their pastor and one or more lay delegates to the presbyteries, while a national body, called the General Assembly, was constituted of the representatives of the various presbyteries. This form of administration made the General Assembly of the established church represent the country quite as fully as did the political Parliament, and of the two the ecclesiastical administration was the more powerful as it spoke more directly from the people. It is little wonder then that, following medieval precedent, the organized church should take a lively interest in education and that the supervision of schools should be placed in the hands of the local churches and their ministers.

The first Book of Policy issued by the General Assembly in 1560-1561 made the recommendation to Parliament that in every parish where there was a town of any reputation there should be a Latin school under a competent schoolmaster and that in the country parishes the reader or minister should teach the youth. In 1567 Parliament passed an act assigning to the Presbyterian "superintendents or visitors" the supervision of teaching, while the act of 1592, which finally established the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, placed the licensing of school-

masters in the hands of the same "superintendents or visitors." Owing to lack of financial means, the development of a system of schools was retarded, but we find that the interest of the General Assembly in education continued without abatement. In 1640 in response to a petition of the General Assembly, the Parliament passed an act which gave the presbyteries the legal right to appoint tax masters who might levy a tax upon parishioners for the support of schools. An overture of the General Assembly to Parliament in 1641 is especially interesting as forecasting the provisions of the law passed by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1647. It reads:

Every parish would have a reader and a school wherein children are to be bred in reading, writing, and grounds of religion according to the laudable acts both of church and parliament before made. And where grammar schools may be had, as in burghs and in other considerable places (among which all presbyterial seats are to be reputed) that they may be erected and held hand to.

Not until 1646, however, was a law passed which made mandatory the erection of a school in every parish. In response to an overture of the General Assembly of that year Parliament enacted that a school should be founded and a schoolmaster be appointed in every parish "by advice of the presbytery." "And to this purpose that the heritors in every congregation meet among themselves and provide a commodious house for the school and modify a stipend for the schoolmaster." The financial support for the schools to be established was to be raised

by a local tax. Unfortunately the law remained a dead letter and it was only in the eighteenth century that substantial progress was made along the lines marked out in the law of 1646.

The close union of the church and state, which we have seen to be characteristic of Calvinistic countries, is further shown in the adoption in Scotland of a system of university administration which closely resembled that of Geneva and which may reasonably be regarded as the precedent followed in the administration of Harvard College. Instead of being organized according to the medieval methods, which provided for a very considerable autonomy in the corporate body of the faculties and nations, the University of Edinburgh was placed under the administration of the civil magistrates and the pastors of Edinburgh. In this way a more direct control could be exercised by the church, or the people (which was the same thing), over the university than was possible according to the medieval system. The higher institutions of learning thus placed in a position of dependence upon the magistrates, became the mouth-piece and servant of the congregations.

The development of Calvinistic influence in England was interwoven with the fortunes of the Anglican Church. In the form of Puritanism it represented the effort of a minority to substitute the presbyterian form of organization and the Calvinistic practices for those of the established Church of England. In order to understand Puritanism it will be necessary first to recall the nature of the English Reformation.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

In the early decades of the sixteenth century the doctrines of Luther, Zwingli, and other reformers were circulated in England, and the publication of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament (1526) gave many a personal acquaintance with the simpler faith and church administration of apostolic times. The reform movement, however, gained little official sympathy and little support among the intellectuals of England. Henry VIII himself wrote a pamphlet exposing Luther's errors, for which he received from the Pope the proud title of "Defender of the Faith." The secession of the Anglican Church from the church universal was precipitated by the King's imperative desire for a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. The Pope procrastinated in giving a decision on this point until Henry, out of patience over the delay, began a reorganization of the Anglican Church which culminated in its complete independence of the Roman hierarchy. By the Act of Supremacy (1534) it was declared that the King "justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England." The most that Henry contemplated in the beginning was to cut the lines of communication with the Pope, to take over the complete authority for church administration in England, and to take possession of the property of those religious associations which owed direct allegiance to the Pope. So far as church doctrine and ritual are concerned, Henry proposed that the Anglican Church, separated from Rome,

THE PRIMER

SET FV RTH

By the kinges maiestie & his
Clergie, to be taught lerned, and
red: & none other to be vsed
thorowout all his
Dominions

IMPRINTED AT LONDON within
the precinct of the late dissolved house of the
graye Friers by Richard Grafton Printer
to the Princes grace, the xvii.
day of August, the yeare of
our lorde M.D.XLVI.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Reprinted without any Alteration

Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 63. — Title-page of the *Primer* of Henry VIII, printed
in 1546.

The kynges intencion

Englyshe, or that which is by our autoritie like
wyse made in the Latin tong, in al poyntes cor-
respondent vnto this in Englysh. And further-
more we streightly charge and comaund aswel all
and singuler our subiectes and sellers of bookes
as also al scholemasters and teachers of young
childzen within this our realme and other our
dominions as they entende to haue our fauoure
and auoyde our displeasure by the contraty, that
immediatly after this our sayed Prymer is pu-
blyshed and imprinted, that they ke any of them
bye, sell, occupye, vse, nor teache preuely or apert
ly any other primer ether in Englyshe or Latin
then this, nowe by vs published, which with no
small study, trauayl, and labor, we haue purpose-
ly made to the high honoz and glory of almighty
god, and to the commoditie of our lo-
uing and obedient subiectes, and ede-
fying of the same in godly contem-
plation and verteuouse exer-
cise of prayer.

Geuen at our palayce of Westmin-
ster the. vi. daye of Maye in the
xxiii. yere of our reigne.

A 2

Dur

Courtesy of Teachers College Library

Fig. 64. — Page three of the *Primer* of Henry VIII. The text indicates the sovereign's determination to secure religious unity within his realm.

should continue in its beliefs and worship just as when it was the Anglican Church within the universal church, making only such changes as were made necessary by the substitution of the Crown of England for the Pope as the supreme head of the church. In pursuit of this policy Henry persecuted those who refused to accept him as the head of the church, regarding their refusal as treason and punishable by beheading, and he also persecuted those who refused to accept the full Catholic doctrine, classifying this refusal as heresy and punishable by burning at the stake.

The first effect of the English Reformation was the dissolution of the monasteries and the sale of their properties, which found their way largely into the hands of the thriving and socially ambitious commercial magnates. However, the influence of Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines was felt more and more in England and the tendency toward simplification of ritual and faith was irresistible.

The suppression of monasteries and their reorganization proceeded throughout Henry's reign. In some cases the monasteries included institutions which were maintaining schools, and while some of these were reorganized as educational foundations, the process of dissolution actually lessened the school facilities of England. In 1545, the chantry foundations (see p. 344) were added to the spoils of the government, but it was only by Henry's successor, Edward VI (1547-1553), that drastic action was taken against them. On the grounds that they were fostering Catholic superstition in conducting

prayers for souls in purgatory, the new and much more strongly Protestant government of Edward proceeded to wipe out many foundations which had conducted schools for the people. Some of these were reorganized for the support of education, but many chantry schools, including both grammar schools and elementary and song schools, were deprived of their principal financial resources and ceased to contribute to the supply of education in England.¹

Edward VI had been reared in a Protestant atmosphere in which the influence of Luther and Calvin was dominant and his official advisers were likewise men of the new religious tendency. During his reign considerable progress was made in the simplification of faith and ritual. Under Mary (1553-1558) England officially returned to Catholicism, but when Elizabeth ascended the throne upon Mary's death, a middle-of-the-road Protestantism was adopted, which, with the brief exception of the Puritan Commonwealth (1649-1660), has remained the official religion of England to this day. The main tenets and practices of the Established Church were finally determined in the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Thirty-nine Articles (1563).

As a compromise with the Catholic faith the Anglican, or Episcopalian, Church, continued much of the aesthetic appeal of the former ritual and followed the forms of episcopal administration. As a concession to the more extreme Protestants, many modifications of doctrine were made. In spite,

¹ Cf. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*.

however, of the religious compromise offered to Englishmen in the Anglican communion, the Calvinistic party continued to agitate for the adoption of the full Presbyterian program and the austere religious practices that emanated from Geneva. There remained also a remnant of faithful Catholics who would not accept the new order of things religious. Accordingly, for a century and more following the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles, the achievement of religious unity was a prime consideration with the English government, and it was in this connection that the control of education became important. A statute of Elizabeth (1562/3) following earlier precedent, compelled all schoolmasters, both public and private, to take the Oath of Supremacy, which was in testimony of their acceptance of the queen as the supreme head of the church in England. Following medieval precedent the supervision of education was retained as a function of the bishops and the Articles of Visitation of Elizabeth's reign testify to the interest of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the prosperity of the grammar schools. By a system of favors shown to the universities, the loyalty of the two ancient seats of learning was secured to the Crown.

There was nothing, however, in the Anglican Reformation that substantially improved the educational status of the common people. The religious reform had been carried out by the politically significant portion of the people, which meant the nobility, the gentry, the free-hold farmers, and the middle class of the towns and cities. At the same time that

these religious changes were taking place, the economic and social retrogression of the common people — the vast army of farm laborers and city workmen and the host of submerged paupers — was proceeding apace. The Statute of Apprentices of 1562/3, accepting an economic criterion as the basis of selection, assigned the children of the common people to compulsory trade apprenticeship, to farm labor, or to domestic service. Gentlemen's sons were exempted from the provisions of the Act, as were the students or scholars in a university or school. Neither church nor civil administration concerned itself with the provision of education for the children of the lower classes, but rather assigned them to a system of vocational training through apprenticeship.

The bitter religious-political strife of the seventeenth century between the Established Church-Crown party and the Puritans saw no change in the method of educational administration, but it produced a degree of tyranny in the matter of enforcing the loyalty of all teachers to the party that happened to be in power that decidedly hindered the free development of English education. The educational reprisals of the Restoration period were particularly severe and for generations to come the privileges of higher education were limited to members of the Established Church. These phases of development of English education fall, however, outside the period proposed for treatment in this chapter and will be taken up in a later connection.

The bearings of the strife within the Church of

England and the educational significance of Puritanism touch the matter of education in the American colonies as well. The New England tradition of education shows the operation of Calvinism in the new land, while the educational practices and social constitution of the colonies which were loyal to the Established Church drew heavily upon English precedent. These developments likewise may be postponed for fuller treatment in another connection, when adequate attention may be given to the entire range of social phenomena which must be taken into account for any satisfactory understanding of American educational conditions.

THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION AND THE COMPANY OF JESUS

The widespread Protestant schism, which threatened the existence of the Church of Rome, was met by a great counter-movement within that part of Christendom which continued to recognize the authority of the Pope and to follow the traditional services of religion. Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, and a large part of the Holy Roman Empire remained strongly Catholic and their civil rulers vigorously upheld the spiritual powers in their effort to strengthen Catholicism. A great council of the church, which was held at Trent at intervals from 1545 to 1563, after some effort to find a middle position regarding doctrine and church administration which might allow of reconciliation among the parties to the religious conflict, finally adopted an uncompromising platform. The position taken was

that the historical development within the church was to be accepted as necessary and divinely sanctioned. The theology of Thomas Aquinas was reiterated as the theological position of the church. The forms of worship and the ritualistic dogmas which had caused so much offense to the Protestants were seen to be desirable and necessary aids to religious experience, while the system of church administration which had developed was held to be essential to the prevalence of worship and the strengthening of God's kingdom on earth. The seven sacraments, the doctrine of purgatory, the celibacy of the clergy, the miracle of the mass, the administrations of the saints, and the efficacy of relics were all reaffirmed. Nowhere was any compromise made with the religious positions taken by the Protestants.

A very real change occurred, however, within the church through the quickening of its zeal and the reorganization of its administration. From the Council of Trent went out a new determination to put down all slackness among the members of the celibate orders, among the secular priests, and among the higher church officials. It was determined to strengthen the agencies of education, and for the special training of secular priests the council called for the establishment of theological seminaries to be under the direct control of the bishops. The planting of this new type of theological school represents an important administrative change in education, as it led to the decay of the theological faculties in the universities. The Council also, as in recognition

of the new dangers to be apprehended from the activities of the printing press, appointed a commission to draw up a list of pernicious books forbidden to good Catholics. This list, under the name of the *Tridentine Index*, was published in 1564 by Pope Paul IV. The function of keeping the list up to date was assumed by the Congregation of the Index, which body also undertook to point out unorthodox passages in certain books which were not altogether bad, in a continuous publication called the *Index expurgatorius*.

The renewed religious zeal and the vitalized administration which the church experienced in the second half of the sixteenth century made great headway in the recovery of doubtful sections and the strengthening of its position in the faithful countries. Poland, Bohemia, Belgium, and parts of southern Germany were thus restored to the church, while great missionary enterprises brought under the influence of the Pope much of the New World and of the Orient.

The Company of Jesus. — An inner vitality seems always to have existed within the church universal which asserted itself in times of marked spiritual or administrative decline. Church reform had been the objective of the work of the Benedictine monks in the seventh century, of the Congregation of Cluny in the eleventh, of the Carthusians and Cistercians in the twelfth, and of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars in the thirteenth. It is not surprising, therefore, that in face of the evils and the weaknesses of the church in the sixteenth century, a new movement should take place in furtherance of Christian zeal

and more efficient administration. A number of new religious orders were formed during the century, but by far the most important of them was the Company of Jesus, founded by the Spanish knight, Ignatius of Loyola. It began with a vow taken by Loyola and six companions in 1534 while they were students at the University of Paris, that they would renounce all their private means, make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or failing in that, place themselves absolutely in the service of the Pope. The enthusiasm and labors of this small nucleus added gradually to the numbers of their followers until in 1540, under the name of the Company of Jesus, the new religious order was recognized by the Pope. The purposes of the order covered a wide range of Christian objects, such as preaching, hearing confessions, care of the poor, and missionary effort among the heathen, but very early in its history the maintenance of secondary and higher institutions of education came to be the most important activity of the order. The new Company of Jesus adopted the traditional vows of celibacy and poverty, and consciously elevated the vow of obedience to a point which made the order the most efficient servant that the Pope had ever had.

The administration of the order centered in the very great power wielded by the General who was the head, chosen for life by the General Congregation. The General Congregation met only on the death of a General or at his special convocation, which occurred but seldom. The area of the society's activities was divided into provinces, at

the head of each of which was a Provincial. Several provinces were grouped together for administrative purposes into assistancies, and one representative from each assistancy was chosen to form the General's Council. Power to alter the Constitution of the order lay in the hands of the General Congregation alone. At the head of each *collège* was the rector. The Constitution of the order took final form in 1558, two years after the death of the founder. The purposes and administration of the society are set forth in parts, the fourth of which deals alone with studies. This part, however, represents one-fourth of the entire contents of the Rule, which indicates the predominant interest which the Jesuits showed, almost from the beginning, in education. The system of administration and the course of study for the lower and the higher schools, or in a word, for the *collèges*, developed as the result of conferences among committees, followed by submission of tentative proposals to the Company at large for criticism. The final product of almost sixty years of such experiment and discussion was the *Ratio studiorum* published in 1599 to serve as the authoritative guide in all educational institutions maintained by the order. The bearing of the *Ratio* on the curriculum and the methods followed in the schools will be considered in the following chapter. (See pp. 486 f.)

The success of the educational activities of the Jesuits was immediate and, in Catholic countries, complete. At the time of Loyola's death in 1556, twelve provinces had been organized and there were about one hundred colleges in operation. In 1615

the number of colleges had increased to 372 and about one hundred years later the number had risen to 769. Among these institutions were many theological seminaries and numerous fully organized *studia generalia*, or universities, although much the greater number were secondary schools, or inferior *collèges*. Some of these *collèges* in the larger towns had as many as 3000 students, while the general policy of the order was not to undertake the maintenance of a *collège* of fewer than two or three hundred. The minimum staff of a *collège* of secondary grade was placed by General Aquaviva in 1578 at fifty Jesuits. At its most flourishing period there were probably as many as 200,000 students attending the various educational institutions of the order. In the Province of Paris alone, with its fourteen *collèges*, there were in 1627 over 130,000 students.¹

The inferior *collèges* were secondary schools giving a humanistic course of instruction extending over about seven years. At the conclusion of this course, the student who intended becoming a member of the order entered upon his novitiate and for a period of two years his formal studies were interrupted in favor of religious and practical exercises, although they were not entirely given over to them. The next stage of professional study in the schools was a course in philosophy, which included logic, metaphysics, ethics, the natural sciences, and mathematics. Upon completing this stage successfully the student received the degree of Master of Arts and was ready to begin the work of the professional schools

¹ See Hughes, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, pp. 68 ff.

of the higher *collège* or of a university. The Jesuits themselves did not teach civil law or medicine, and when the order was in full charge of a university it employed men who were not Jesuits to fill those faculties. It was at this stage of their education that the members of the society entered upon their duties as teachers of the lower *collège*. After a number of years passed in teaching the languages they might continue their studies for the Doctor's degree in theology. The course in theology was four years in length, to which two years were added for members of the order to prepare them for their teaching duties in the course in philosophy. In selecting the members of the order, special attention was paid to character, ability, and fitness to fulfill some function in the order. The early teaching efforts of the members were also carefully assisted by the rector and the prefect of studies, while any one who showed himself clearly to be a misfit in the office of schoolmaster was relieved of that duty. All the schools of the Jesuits were free as far as tuition was concerned up to the time of the suppression of the society in 1773.

It is sometimes said that the influence of the Reformation upon the administration of education in Protestant lands was considerable, while in Catholic countries matters continued much as before. But indeed this is not the case. What can be more significant than the development of this great society which came almost to monopolize secondary and higher education in Catholic countries? Given the power of self-government and the right to confer degrees of all grades, and accepting no fees for tuition

or for graduation, the new system threatened every other vested educational interest. The new theological seminaries, provided for by the Council of Trent, were in most cases taken over by the Jesuits as they were created, and this deprived the university faculties of theology of much of their clientele and lessened their influence in the church and in the state. The Jesuits, with their courses leading to the Master of Arts degree, likewise competed with the universities for the most numerous part of their student body. The function of licensing schoolmasters which had been and still continued to be the prerogative of the chancellors of the cathedrals and which had brought many fees into their purses, ceased, with the ascendancy of the Jesuit schools, to be anything like so remunerative. It is little wonder that the University of Paris and the *Parlement* of Paris, those firm champions of the "liberties of the Gallican Church" should be alarmed at the rapid development of the Jesuit schools and should sternly resist the order at every point. For here was an agency, powerful and zealous, which was exercising in France a whole series of important educational rights on the direct mandate of the pope and to the material disadvantage of vested local educational interests.

Teaching orders for elementary education.—When the Protestants during the heat of the Reformation controversy made so great a point of the layman's possession and reading of the Scriptures, the Catholic party took opposing ground on this issue, and for a time the Catholics were as strictly

opposed to indiscriminate lay Bible reading as the Protestants were in favor of it. Much of the interest of the Lutherans and Calvinists in the establishment of elementary schools was related to the central position in their doctrines of individual acquaintance with the truths of revealed religion and to the need of more independent participation of the worshipers in the religious services. As in contrast to the Protestant interest in schools for the common people, the statement is sometimes made that the Catholics were indifferent to elementary education in the century of the Reformation and for long thereafter. There are some grounds for such a generalization, but it deserves to be sharply conditioned. We must remember that much of the interest in common schools which is attributed to Protestant zeal was more or less due to a shift of administrative responsibility. We must further recall that the full implication of the Protestant theory with regard to general educational opportunity was long delayed of satisfactory realization in most Protestant countries.

Meanwhile the Catholics were not indifferent to the instruction of children of the masses at least in the fundamentals of the faith. The Council of Trent adopted a catechism by means of which the young were to be made familiar with the essentials of Catholic doctrine, and thereafter there was a decided revival of catechetical instruction. In addition to the quickening of the activities of the priests in giving such religious instruction, teaching orders soon arose to supplement the work of the clergy.

The Order of Ursulines was founded in 1535, the Congregation of Christian Doctrine in 1592, and the Sisters of Notre Dame in 1598. The original purpose of these orders was to give moral and religious instruction to children, but it was not long before the pressure of surrounding social and intellectual conditions led them to include instruction in the literary rudiments among their objectives. The ability to read was seen to be as important to the fullness of the Catholic religious experience as to that of the Protestant, while the usefulness of a knowledge of reading in an age of books and printing gave strong support on general grounds for literary instruction.

The greatest activity of the teaching orders for elementary education occurred in the seventeenth century and after. An extremely important point in this development was the founding in France of the Order of the Brothers of the Christian Schools under the leadership of Jean Baptiste de la Salle in 1684. However, this order came into existence long after the period of the Protestant Reformation and it seems to be a misplacement of emphasis to connect it too closely with that event. It arose as part of a great wave of philanthropic and religious feeling which had its manifestation in England and Germany, as well as in France, and which was conditioned by economic circumstances and by the formalism of seventeenth century ecclesiastical administration. Further consideration of the educational activities of the Catholic orders which engaged in the elementary instruction of the children of the common people may accordingly be postponed with advantage until

education in the seventeenth century is more comprehensively considered.

The fact must not be lost sight of that during the sixteenth century in Catholic countries, as was the case in the Protestant parts of Europe as well, there was a wide variety of private agencies engaged in teaching the rudiments of a literary education to those children whose parents were able or inclined to pay the small fees demanded.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

1. HAYES, C. H. J., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Macmillan, 1916, Vol. I., pp. 112-169. — A good account of the political aspects of the Reformation.

2. SMITH, P., *The Age of the Reformation*, Henry Holt and Co., 1923, Chs. I-VIII. — Good especially for its treatment of the intellectual and religious aspects of the Reformation.

3. WALKER, W., *A History of the Christian Church*, Scribner, 1918, pp. 205-480. — Useful for its treatment of the religious phases of the Reformation.

4. PAINTER, F. V. N., *Luther on Education*, Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1889. — Luther's views on education are shown in translations from his writings.

5. CUBBERLEY, E. P., *The History of Education*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920, pp. 237-335. — Excellent account of the administrative changes in education resulting from the Reformation in different European countries.

6. DE MONTMORENCY, J. E. G., *The Intervention of the State in English Education*, Cambridge University Press, 1902. — Shows the influence of the English Reformation on education in that country.

7. LEACH, A. F., *English Schools at the Reformation*, Archibald Constable, Westminster, 1896. — Shows that the immediate effect of the Reformation in England was to lessen the supply of schools.

8. PAULSEN, F., *German Education, Past and Present*, Scribner, 1912, Part II. — An account of Reformation developments in German education.

9. KILPATRICK, W. H., *The Dutch Schools of New Netherlands and Colonial New York*, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1912, No. 12, pp. 11-38. — Good for the schools of the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century.

10. ROBBINS, C. L., *Teachers in Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, 1912. — A careful study from original sources of conditions in Protestant elementary and secondary schools of Germany during the Reformation century.

11. HUGHES, T., *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, Scribner, 1899. — A careful account of the development of the *Ratio Studiorum* and an informing description of the administration and methods of the Jesuit schools.

12. SCHWICKERATH, R., *Jesuit Education*, B. Herder, New York, 1904. — Describes the Jesuit system of education and attacks current misrepresentations of the system.

13. MONROE, P., *Cyclopedia of Education*, Macmillan, Articles, "The Reformation and Education," "Calvin," "Calvinism in Education," "Melanchthon," "Educational Work of the Jesuits."

CHAPTER XVII

THE HUMANISTIC SECONDARY SCHOOL OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

THE two chapters preceding have taken account of certain changes in the social, political, economic, and religious life of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which had profound influence upon education during that time. The increase in the numbers, wealth, and social ambitions of the middle class has been noted. The transition of the knight into the courtier and the new rôle which he was to play as a factor in civil administration, as leader of armies and captain of ships, and as gentleman gracing the polite society that centered in the courts of kings have been pointed out. The complete revolution in the mode of producing books, which at once greatly extended the reading public and created a new reason for education as a leisure time resource, has been observed. Finally an effort has been made to appraise the effects of the Protestant Reformation upon the ways and means of educational administration and the supply of schools. It is time that we now turn to examine the curriculum and the internal administration of the schools which were developed to meet the needs of an enlarged clientele and a complicated set of educational objectives.

Already this narrative has described the changes which took place in education among the cities of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. That cultural development occurred over a relatively small area in response to much the same conditions as those which came into existence in northern Europe a century later. The commercial revolution created over most of Europe north of the Alps the same wealthy middle class which the early trade with the Orient had produced in Italy. The changes in the position of the northern noble, in response to new modes of warfare and the overpowering strength which national kings had won, likewise corresponded to the new status of the noble class in the Italian cities. And, in brief, it may be said that the same opportunities and the same ambitions which had caused the Italians of the preceding century to draw upon the full heritage of classical literature as the means of personal cultivation, the refinement of existence, and the expansion of intellectual horizon operated in the whole of Europe in the sixteenth century to the same ends.

The progress of humanism in German lands. — The earliest progress of the new learning which had captured Italy followed the routes of trade across the Alps and down the Rhine in the late fifteenth century. Rudolph Agricola (1444-1485), a wandering scholar from Holland and a man of many-sided ability, first came in contact with Italian humanism during a sojourn in Italy. He introduced the new learning into the Netherlands and also made its influence felt among the German universities, particularly

Heidelberg. The men in charge of the schools maintained by the Brethren of the Common Life (see p. 348), which by the middle of the fifteenth century represented a long list of flourishing old-type schools in all the important towns of the Netherlands, proved to be entirely hospitable to the classical Latin and the study of the ancient authors which Agricola proposed as an educational reform. Alexander Hegius (1420-1495), rector of the Hieronymian school at Deventer, studied under Agricola at the age of forty, after having already attained his Master's degree in the university. Hegius is to be regarded as one of the great school reformers of the period, as he began the practice of carefully grading the work of the school to correspond to the pupil's stage of advancement, and also because he introduced Greek as a study for the higher classes of his school. Other names which are to be noted in connection with the infiltration into Germany of the purer Latin, the study of Greek, and a new interest in Hebrew, which became an important subject of study among the northern humanists, are those of Jacob Wimpfeling (1450-1528) and John Reuchlin (1455-1522), who was the uncle of the great humanist and religious reformer, Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560). As early as 1494, a chair of "Poetry" devoted to the study of the humanities was erected at the University of Erfurt, and in a number of other German universities the new learning had secured a foothold during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The University of Wittenberg, founded in 1502, was on the humanistic basis from its beginning. Here it was

that Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen were professors, and from this center went out a great deal of the inspiration for the work of educational reorganization which was made necessary by the Reformation.

The many grammar schools which have been seen to be in existence in the towns of Germany, many of them largely under the control of the town governments, during the later Middle Ages, gradually felt the influence of the new learning as individual teachers, who had received their instruction in the universities, were employed and put into use the classical Latin and in other ways followed the lines of humanistic reform. The substantial reorganization of the German secondary schools in the new methods took place, however, in the second quarter of the sixteenth century under the leadership of the great educators, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Neander, Trotzendorf, and Sturm, and in connection with the Protestant Reformation.

One of the greatest of all the humanist scholars was the Hollander Erasmus (1457-1536), who had been a pupil under Hegius at Deventer. Erasmus carried on his labors in many lands and became an international figure in scholarship and education. He was largely influential in bringing about the establishment of the Trilingual College at the University of Louvain in 1517, for instruction in the classics.

The new learning in France. — The first important contact of the French with the many-sided culture of fifteenth century Italy came as the result of a military campaign conducted by the French King

Charles VIII in 1494 in an attempt to gain control of the Kingdom of Naples. The Italian claim was pressed by his two successors, Louis XII and Francis I (1515-1547), with the result that during a period of a half-century, French courtiers, administrative officers, and military men came to see a great deal of Italy and to admire Italian art, learning, and luxury. Italian influences, including humanism, made rapid progress in the French court and the leading cities of France. As in Germany, the first interest of the French scholars was in the Greek and the Hebrew, which were early used in securing purer versions of the Scriptures and thus contributed to the church reform interest in that country. One of the first great French humanists was William Budaeus (French, Budé, 1467-1540), whose work on the Roman system of coinage represents a new stage in the development of classical scholarship. Budaeus enjoyed the patronage of Francis I, and in 1522 became Royal Librarian. He was influential in the establishment of the Royal Press in 1526, which became a powerful agency for the advancement of classical scholarship. Robert Estienne, the first Royal printer, published in 1532 the first Latin lexicon, and in 1572 Henry Estienne the Younger produced his great Greek lexicon in five volumes.

Upon its first entry into France the new learning encountered the violent opposition of the University of Paris, then acknowledged to be the greatest university of Europe. Long after humanism had become an influential factor in the intellectual life of Paris and of France at large, the University had

succeeded in keeping it out of its faculties, and it was only the forceful insistence of Francis I which caused the University to accept the royal foundation of the *Collège de France*. Two chairs, of Greek and of Hebrew, were established in 1530, and four years later were added chairs in Latin and mathematics. France, under the leadership of the new college, became a notable seat of classical scholarship, which was made to serve the interests of the developing French literature. One of the greatest classical scholars of modern times was a Frenchman of the sixteenth century, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609).

Humanism in England. — The humanism of fifteenth century Italy was carried to Oxford by returning scholars, among whom may be named Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet, and in the very last years of that century there existed a little group in Oxford, known as the Oxford Reformers, who did much to foster enthusiasm for Greek and Latin studies. Thomas More (1478–1535), a lawyer of scholarly tastes, who is chiefly remembered for his *Utopia* and his martyrdom, threw open his home in Chelsea to the humanists and was an acknowledged leader among them. Early in the sixteenth century Cambridge felt the influence of the new learning, and in 1511 Erasmus was a professor there. Henry VIII, who came to the English throne in 1509, was a patron of classical scholarship and his children were all carefully educated along humanistic lines. His great Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey (c. 1475–1530) was a generous supporter of classical studies in Oxford and was also

interested in the reform of the secondary curriculum. By the middle of the sixteenth century the classical studies were entrenched in the universities, and the grammar schools of the country had largely been reorganized in favor of the humanistic curriculum.

One of the earliest examples of grammar school reform was the reorganization of St. Paul's School in London by Dean John Colet in 1512. In the statutes which he drew up to govern the school he expresses his purpose in founding the school and describes in a general way the course of study that is to be followed. His statement shows so clearly the spirit of humanistic reform and reveals so well the objectives and spirit of secondary education in the early sixteenth century that the part which relates to the studies is given herewith in modernized spelling :

As touching in this school what shall be taught of the masters and learned of the scholars, it passeth my wit to devise and determine in particular, but in general to speak and somewhat to say my mind, I would they were taught always in good literature both Latin and Greek, and good authors, such as have the very Roman eloquence joined with wisdom, especially Christian authors that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin either in verse or in prose, for my intent is by this school especially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and our Lord Christ Jesus and good Christian life and manners in the children.

And for that intent I will the children learn first above all the Catechism in English and after (that) the accidence that I made or some other if any be better to the purpose to induce children more speedily to Latin speech. And then *Institutum Christiani homines* which that learned Erasmus made at my request and the book called *Copia* of the same Erasmus. And then other authors Christian, such as Lactantius, Prudentius and Proba and Sedulius

and Juvenius, and Baptista Mantuanus and such others as shall be taught convenient and most to purpose unto the true Latin speech. All barbarism, all corruption, all Latin adulterate which ignorant blind fools brought into this world and with the same have stained and poisoned the old Latin speech and the very Roman tongue which in the time of Tully and Sallust and Virgil and Terence was used, which also St. Jerome and St. Ambrose and St. Augustine and many holy doctors learned in their times — I say, that filthiness and all such abuse which the later blind world brought in, which more rather may be called blotterature than literature, I utterly banish and exclude out of this school and charge the masters that they teach always what is the best and instruct the children in Greek and reading unto them such authors that have with wisdom joined the pure chaste eloquence.¹

Various types of secondary school organization. — Before discussing the internal management of the humanistic secondary school, it is desirable to point out some differences in their organization; for while all varieties of the humanistic school sought the same general objectives and used much the same subject matter, they differed considerably among themselves in their academic range and in their relationship to the universities. The English “grammar” schools apparently remained true to their name and from first to last aimed at making the pupils proficient in the learned languages, but stopped short of giving instruction in logic, philosophy, and science, which were reserved for university study. Their purpose was the turning out of a good Latinist, who also had a command of the Greek tongue, which would enable him to pursue his university studies as they required

¹ The statutes are to be found in Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.

use of those languages ; but the grammar schools did not attempt to establish within themselves advanced courses which would have represented an incursion into the province of the universities. In France and Germany, however, as had been the case in the Court Schools of Italy which we have already noticed, the highest development of secondary education made provision for instruction in a field which in medieval times had been carried on in the Arts faculty of the universities.

The French *collège*. — The characteristic French secondary school was the *collège*, which in its origin was a differentiation within the university for greater efficiency in discipline and instruction of the young boys who came there to study. (See p. 337.) In the course of the fifteenth century practically all the instruction of the Arts Faculty in the University of Paris was given in the *collèges*, some of which gave the full range of instruction provided by that Faculty. It was, accordingly, a rather natural development that the humanistic *collège*, while predominantly a secondary school, should tend to encroach upon the studies of the Arts Faculty. In the organization of the *collège* of Guyenne in Bordeaux we find in the middle of the sixteenth century the boys finishing up their course in the Faculty of Arts in the University of Bordeaux, to which they became eligible upon having passed through the ten grades of the *collège*. In those last years, when the boys were between eighteen and twenty years of age, they studied logic and natural philosophy. In Calvin's *collège* at Geneva, which may be considered as representing the French

influence, there were in all seven classes, in the highest two of which logic, which is definitely a university study, was included. The Jesuits, who came to dominate French education during the seventeenth century, organized the *collège* in two parts, the inferior and the superior. The inferior *collège* was a thoroughgoing humanistic or linguistic school. Its course culminated in the class known as Rhetoric, which was intended to give the final touch of literary judgment and skill. The superior *collège*, on the other hand, was devoted to logic, philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences, which was the province of the Arts Faculty of the university. Completion of the course in philosophy entitled the student in the Jesuit *collège* to the degree of Master of Arts.

German secondary schools. — In the plan which Melanchthon drew up for the Elector of Saxony in 1528 to control the organization of Latin schools, he provided for the study of logic in the highest grade. In the plan which the same educational leader prepared for the town of Nuremberg, which desired a higher classical school, he proposed that the first year of the four year course should be devoted to rhetoric and dialectic, the second to Latin poetry, the third to mathematics, and the last to Greek. The School Code of Württemberg (see p. 430) called for the study of logic in the highest grade of the Latin school, while the Higher Cloister Schools, which were to prepare for entrance to the universities, in addition to advanced studies in the classics, were to provide instruction in logic, geometry, arithmetic,

astronomy, and theology. Finally it may be recalled that John Sturm (1507-1589) in his famous school at Strassburg made much the same encroachment upon the traditional university field. Sturm, upon becoming head of this school in 1537, organized its work into a course covering ten years. While the work of the school was predominantly humanistic, logic and elementary work in mathematics were to be introduced in the next to the last year, while in the final year, in addition to the work in logic, which was continued, the first book of Euclid was to be studied and there was to be elementary work in astronomy. This school, which was called the *gymnasium*, became the acknowledged model of the highest type of secondary school in Germany.

The French and German evolution is of interest as forecasting the later development in those countries of taking all undergraduate work away from the universities, while the English tendency of maintaining their grammar schools at a strictly secondary level accounts for the continuance of undergraduate instruction in the English universities. It is unnecessary to add that the grammar school of the American colonies followed the English precedent.

More exact grading in the new secondary school.—The humanistic secondary school became a much more exactly graded institution than the medieval grammar school had been. At the lower end of the course, the previous indeterminate relationship with the Latin elementary school was brought to an end, and for the most part it came to be required that

boys entering should already be able to recognize the letters and to read. In Colet's statutes for St. Paul's School, the condition for admission is made that the child should be able to "read and write Latin and English sufficiently, so that he be able to read and write his own lessons." A statute of Merchant Taylors' School dated 1561 sets up as the condition of entrance that the applicants know the Catechism in English or in Latin and can read perfectly and write competently. The great authority of the Jesuits was exerted in the same direction, for one of the ordinances of the Constitution was to the effect that the teaching of the Society should not begin below "the rudiments of grammar, in which boys must already be versed; they must know how to read and write." It must be admitted that Sturm received Abecedarians in his *gymnasium*, as was also the case in the *collège* at Geneva and in the Latin schools of Württemberg. The tendency to restrict the work of the secondary school proper to those who had some preliminary preparation was, however, the practice which came to prevail in all European systems.

A further development in the direction of exact classification was the distribution of the work of the entire course into a specified number of classes. The work of each class or form had to be completed satisfactorily before the pupil could advance to the next higher. Where conditions permitted, the work of each class was placed under a single instructor. In the Jesuit system the instructor moved up the academic ladder along with his class. It is obvious

that exact arrangement of studies by years, or at least by units of proficiency to be attained, was a great step toward better teaching and learning. One of the earliest examples of careful grading is found in the school at Deventer, of which Hegius was rector, where the work of the school was divided among eight classes. The English grammar schools tended to follow a six "form" arrangement, although the forms were not intended to correspond exactly to a year's work. In the Jesuit inferior *collège* there were the following grades: lower grammar, middle grammar, upper grammar, humanities, and rhetoric. In the *Collège de la Rive* in Geneva there were seven classes, while it will be recalled that in Sturm's *gymnasium* there were ten. In the midst of all this variety, there existed, however, the conception of a regular course of study which was to be pursued in a systematic and orderly manner.

The religious atmosphere of the early humanistic schools. — A striking characteristic of the schools which we are considering was the devout religious atmosphere which pervaded them. If one reads the words of founders of schools or observes their curricula the result is the same. Even the schools which were in existence before the Reformation had this same care for religion, as witness the words of John Colet and the studies proposed by him for St. Paul's School in 1512. Naturally enough, the bitter struggle of the Reformation brought out the factor of doctrinal instruction very sharply and caused much stress to be laid on the reading of Scripture and the attendance upon divine services. Children

in Lutheran, Calvinistic, Anglican, and Catholic schools, each according to their doctrinal beliefs and ritual, were expected to know the catechism by heart, and often in two languages. Even at the risk of possible detriment to a perfect Latin style some of the Church Fathers were studied, while the Greek Testament was a favorite Greek text.

Outside of the specifically religious instruction given, great stress was laid upon moral lessons. One of the chief difficulties seen in connection with the classical curriculum was the possible bad moral effect of certain authors or passages. Some of the Latin authors were held to be unfit for school use, while others were employed only in part. The Jesuits expurgated the entire range of classical literature which they employed in their schools so as to avoid the danger of moral contamination. In the study of authors the teachers made efforts to bring before the students every possible moral lesson that could be drawn out of them, while the *Colloquies*, or conversation books, were chockfull of improving passages. Of these texts a famous one was written by Corderius, the French Calvinist. It was regarded as exceptionally good for its moral influence and was used largely in England and in the countries where Calvinism was the dominant religion.

The aims of the humanistic school. — In general, the educational aims of the humanistic school were little different from our own at the present day. The sixteenth century educators believed that sound studies should develop character through giving

exercise to the pupil's judgment on moral issues as they arose in the course of his studies, through filling his mind with noble personal examples taken out of literature and history, and through making him familiar with the moral sentiments of great and public-spirited men. The schoolmasters of that day had much the same sort of faith that we have to-day in the worthwhileness of study. They believed that mental exercise developed power, that reading enlarged the experience and developed better points of view, and that the increase of the pupil's literary appreciation, of his literary skill, and of his intellectual vigor were highly desirable. And they certainly expected that the moral fineness and stability and the intellectual acuteness and balance which study engendered would be put to use in "social service" as we say to-day.

When Francis I issued the warrant for founding the Royal Press at Paris, he officially said :

We are persuaded that these sound studies will give birth in our kingdom to theologians who shall teach the sacred doctrine of religion; to magistrates who shall administer justice without partiality and in the spirit of public equity; and, finally, to skilled administrators, the luster of the State, who will be capable of sacrificing their private interest to affection for the public good. . . . Such are among the benefits that may reasonably be looked for from sound studies and from them almost exclusively.¹

Martin Luther in his appeals to the nobility and to the magistrates of cities and to the people at large showed the same faith in well-directed study of the classics to produce efficient and public-spirited

¹ From Woodward, *Education during the Age of the Renaissance*.

citizens and servants of church and state. Sir Thomas Elyot in the first pedagogical work to be written in English, *The Book Named the Governour*, took it to be the first duty of every gentleman to give his sons the education that would prepare them for service to king and commonwealth, and among all the available agencies for education be placed first the study of the classics. And a hundred years later, in proposing a rich, one might say overwhelming, selection of classical authors as embodying the materials of a sound curriculum, John Milton gave utterance to that noble definition of education which has never been improved upon: "I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War."

The sixteenth century educators were limited to the classics for the materials with which to realize their educational aims. Modern social and physical science had not yet been born and the vernacular literatures were in the first stages of productive development. Such intellectual culture as was available was contained in the science, philosophy, and *belles lettres* of the Greek and Latin civilizations.

One of the immediate aims of the secondary school, as opposed to the general aims which we have been considering, was to furnish the pupil with the instruments that would unlock to him this treasure house, namely, Latin and Greek. But a second immediate aim was equally pressing, which was, to give him an accurate and fluent command of written and

spoken Latin. It is sometimes difficult for the present-day student of education to see the practical nature of the humanistic curriculum in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for the world of business and learned intercourse now is so different from what it was then. One must recall that Latin was the language of diplomacy, of international business communication, of all substantial and learned publication, and of university instruction. Any one whose walk of life would call him into high places would need to read and speak Latin. Any one who intended to follow a professional career would find the same skills indispensable. While any one who wished to be a part of the world of taste and fashion and intellect needed to have literally at his tongue's end both the content of the Latin classics and the literary graces of the poets and orators of Rome. Nor is it to be forgotten that facility in Latin oratory and composition was expected to serve as a powerful aid to preachers, parliamentarians, and judges in improving their use of the mother tongue.

It is with the practical use of Latin as a living language in mind that the humanist schoolmasters so greatly stressed those exercises which led to facility in Latin speech and writing. Books of *Colloquies*, or conversations, dealing with all sorts of everyday concerns, such as might come up in the playground or in the home, or such as might be the subject of serious discussion among men, were inevitably introduced in the early years of the course. Works of this nature by Erasmus, Vives, and Corderius were among the most widely used, but many others were

Le Pe. Je l'espere aussi avec
toy. Il reste maintenant que tu dis
le preterit & ce qui descend d'i-
celuy.

Pæ. Ego quoque idem
tecum spero. Nunc restat
vt dicas præteritum cum
prole.

P v. Potui, potueram, potuerim, potuero, po-
tuissem, potuissè.

Le Pe. Di les terminaisons.

Pæ. Dic terminationes.

Pv. i, ram, rim, ro, ssem, sse.

Le Pe. Di la signification.

Pæ. Dic significationem.

Pv. Possum, ne puis: Posse, pouvoir.

Le Pe. C'est assez: voila qu'on
nous appelle pour dîner.

Pæ. Hactenus: ecce, voca-
mur ad prandium.

COLLOQUE 5.

ARG. Du respect d'un fils bien morigéné envers ses parens, at-
tendant son repas en temps & lieux commandés.

Claude, Durant.

CLAVDIVS, DVRANDVS

Q V'and veux-tu dîner?

D. J'ay desia dîné.

C. A quelle heure?

D. A huit heures & demie.

C. Dînez-vous donc si matin?

D. Telle est quasi tousiours no-
stre coustume en este: & vous?

C. Nous ne dîsons point de-
uant dix heures & demie: quel-
ques fois apras onze.

D. Voyl: pour quoy non plus tost?

C. Il nous faut attendre mon
pere, tant qu'il soit reueu de la
cour.

D. Tu ne pourras donc pas te trou-
uer en la fin de l'heure des Psea-
umes.

C. La m'y trouue fort peu sou-
uent.

D. Comment en es-tu excusé?

C. Je suis exempt de ces char-

Q Vando vis prandere?

D. Eg: iam prandi.

C. Quota hora?

D. Sesi octaua.

C. Tam mane igitur præ-
detis?

D. Sic ferè solemus in æ-
stare: Vos autem?

C. Non prandemus ante
sesquidécimam: interdum
ab undécima.

D. Papæ! cur non citius?

C. Expectandus est pater
dum è cûria redierit.

D. Tu igitur non potes
adesse zula in cantione
Psalmorum.

C. Rarè admodum in-
teritum.

D. Quomodo excusaris?

C. Exemptus sum illo
mûnere.

D. Quis

Fig. 65. — A page from the *Colloquies* of Corderius, printed in 1593. This was one of the most widely used textbooks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Note parallel texts in Latin and French.

produced.¹ The plays of Terence, abounding as they do in references to the common occurrences of existence and in felicitous ways of expressing quite ordinary thoughts, were in high favor for their utility in furthering Latin conversation. For the same reason, school plays in Latin, acted by the pupils and frequently composed by the masters, were much in vogue in practically all humanistic schools. The Jesuits were particularly happy in their use of this type of school exercise.² Public declamations were a further part of a pupil's training in dignified, serious Latin discourse. Nor was it just a particularly ingenious piece of tyranny on the part of masters that the use of the vernaculars on the school ground was forbidden. Boys were thus stimulated to secure practice in an art for which their later careers would probably find a large place.

In the same way that agencies were employed which would lead to oral accuracy and facility, great stress was laid upon written composition. The pupil kept a "commonplace book" in which he noted down as he read, all the happy turns of style, quotations that might come in handy, or facts and sentiments that he might expect to turn to use in his own compositions. Such a book as that of Erasmus named the *Copia* was a collection of words, phrases, or sayings gleaned by him from his extensive reading of the classics and placed at the disposal of any schoolboy striving for sound Latinity. The pupils were given exercises in the paraphrasing of

¹ For examples of colloquies see Watson, *Tudor Schoolboy Life*.

² See Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, pp. 165 ff.

poetical passages in imitation of various authors, and in turning Greek selections into Latin. In the upper classes exercises in poetical composition were set and the classes in rhetoric were expected to turn out prose of sustained high quality.

It is self-evident that such creative facility as was arrived at in the humanistic school involved thorough mastery of vocabulary and the rules of syntax. Grammar must have been the *bête noire* of the sixteenth century schoolboy. It followed him through the entire course of his school life, if not in the Latin form then in the Greek. It ended up, if it did not in practice so begin, by engrossing almost all the energy and time of pupil and master alike.

The place of Greek. — Although the humanists were conscious of the superiority of the Greek literature over the Latin not only in point of content but of form as well, the practical considerations which we have mentioned made Latin by far the more important school language. Greek was clearly of secondary interest and was usually begun only after the schoolboy had his Latin pretty well in hand. It was useful in throwing light upon much of Latin literature and it was studied for content or as preparation for theological studies.

The authors studied. — The many-sided genius of Cicero made his works the mainstay of the humanistic school. The moral quality of his writings is irreproachable and the elevated character of his themes made him a serviceable guide to youth. As the great master of the spoken word, he was of great utility in a school régime which stressed the

development of public speakers, while as essayist and letter writer he was second to none. Livy and Sallust were the favorite historians, although history was studied mainly for style and good moral lessons. Virgil took first place among the poets, while Horace and Ovid were also largely studied. Terence, as has been mentioned, was the favorite dramatist. Many other writers are to be found among the authors studied, and place must especially be found for some of the Latin Church Fathers. In Greek, Homer universally had a place and usually some of the classic dramatists, Aristophanes, Sophocles, or Euripides. Demosthenes' orations supplemented the study of Cicero. Aesop's *Fables* were in high demand for beginning classes, in which connection some of the dialogues of Lucian were also employed. Plato, Plutarch, and St. Chrysostom were read in some schools in the higher classes. While this list is not exhaustive, it represents the most usual selection of Latin and Greek classics for use on the secondary school level.

The tendency toward formalism in the humanistic school. — There is always a discrepancy between the aims of educators and the actual achievements of the schools. It is so in our day; it was so in the sixteenth century; it was so in Rome when the great Quintilian was writing out the counsels of educational perfection which were so fully accepted and so frequently plagiarized by the humanistic educators. Alexander Hegius was a great teacher of his times and the school at Deventer was among the best north of the Alps when Erasmus was his pupil there;

but as Erasmus looked back to his school days from the lofty heights of international scholar and educational authority, he found much to criticize in his old school. When the history of education is written out of the educational plans and aims of the great theorists, it tends to give an exalted notion of the state of things which belies the actuality. With a scholar in the chair and a genius on the bench all would go well and the most exalted aims could be realized. But one must not forget that the average run of sixteenth century schoolmasters were men of mediocre abilities, and that the sons of the lesser nobility — merchants, country squires, and professional men — who were their pupils, represented a wide range of intellectual gifts in which there must have been a plentiful sprinkling of mediocrity or worse. The task of teaching and learning two highly inflected languages of which the syntax is extremely intricate was enough in itself to take up most of the energies and time of the school. The result was that the humanistic school tended to teach the rules of grammar, to apply them in written and oral composition, and to construe authors, while the exalted aim of opening up the riches of classical culture and applying them in the education of the younger generation to a considerable extent went by the board. At their worst the school exercises became a dreary and exacting drill on word forms, constructions, and literary artifices, and even at its best the humanistic school must have been a severe test upon the interest and the capacity of all but the more gifted pupils.

Perhaps the most famous classroom method of the period was the one set forth in the *Ratio studiorum* of the Jesuits, called the *praelectio*, or as Anglicized, the prelection. This method stressed informal comment by the teacher on the passage under consideration, as opposed to dictation of materials to be memorized, and in the range and concreteness of the matter which it introduced in the treatment of a text, recalls the precepts of the great humanistic school authority, Quintilian. Beginning with a careful reading of a new passage in some classical author, the professor gave a full translation, or several possible renderings of the lines being studied, which in the typical Jesuit school was a very short selection indeed for a day's work. Then would follow a literal construing of the passage following the exact order of the text. Attention was given to the figures of speech employed by the author, the devices by which he secured his literary effect, the syntactical construction of the passage, the governing rules and the special significance of certain words. Especially strong phrases or usages were pointed out by the professor which the pupils copied into their commonplace books for later use in their own compositions. Where there were geographical, mythological, or historical allusions which required explanation, this the professor supplied. Finally the professor would repeat the translation of the passage with which he began. So far the professor has had the floor. When the prelection was completed, the turn of the pupils came in what was known as the repetition. The pupils were compelled to go over the ground cov-

ered by the professor in the earlier part of the exercise and to give back to him all that he had previously given them. The *Ratio* is very specific in its requirement that all pupils should be called upon. Special devices were adopted to secure the spirit of emulation within the classes, such as organizing the class into two groups and having two boys, one from each group, stand up together and try to "set each other down" on the material of the prelection. From the testimony of contemporaries no other method was so successful as that of the Jesuits in holding boys up to the exacting demands of literary and linguistic study. To the advantage of a good method, the Jesuits added the prerequisite of well-grounded and experienced professors.

However, even at its best, the humanistic school tended to stress the form rather than the matter of learning. In the hands of a poorly educated instructor, the class exercise became a sterile and unimaginative drill on grammatical rules and constructions, while the "pedant," who overloaded and overrefined his expositions, dulled his classes into insensibility. Erasmus counselled a speedy mastery of the essentials of grammar and then a constant preoccupation with "matter," "things," the meanings of the classical authors. Montaigne (1533-1592), the great French liberal of the sixteenth century, heaps his scorn upon the pedants "who glean and pick learning from books and never lodge it further than their own lips, only to disgorge it and cast it to the wind." In his great essay on *The Education of Children*, he reverts to the larger ideal

of the humanistic revival and calls for instruction that will develop the judgment of the child and enable him to organize for himself a comprehensive and stable philosophy of life. To this end the mechanical exercises of the school, the grinding out of prose and poetical exercises, and the external mastery of the words of a classic were worse than useless. And in the essay *Of Pedantry*, he ridicules the logic-choppers and word-mongers who had not consolidated in terms of intelligence their vast floating stores of verbal information. Thomas Elyot in *The Book Named the Governour* (1531; see p. 493) minimized the grammatical aspects of study and saw in the classics the surest means to a general education from the point of view of content. Finally, in the seventeenth century, John Milton in his *Tractate on Education* (1644) sang the swan song of the liberal humanists, who saw in the classics the ideal material for instruction in almost any field of human interest. Philosophy, ethics, political theory, medicine, agriculture, mathematics, architecture, astronomy, and oratory, he claimed, could best be studied in the appropriate Greek and Latin authors. But even as John Milton was writing, this position was much less true than it had been when asserted by the Italian humanists of the fifteenth century or by Elyot in the sixteenth. A new political science was evolving as the result of reflection upon modern European conditions. New developments of physical science and mathematics were superannuating many dicta of the classical authorities. New and rich vernacular literatures were being created in

Italy, Spain, France, and England. European painting and architecture vied with the memories and remains of antiquity. Progress in the arts of war and navigation were making antiquated the strategy and tactics of Xenophon, Hannibal, and Caesar. Most significant of all with reference to the domination of the classics in the schools of Europe, French was displacing Latin as the language of diplomatic intercourse and correspondence between one land and another.

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2. PAULSEN, F., *German Education, Past and Present*, Scribner, 1912, Part II. — Valuable account of the humanistic movement in Germany.

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CHAPTER XVIII

PROGRESSIVE IDEAS RESPECTING THE EDUCATION OF A GENTLEMAN

NOT yet are we done with the sixteenth century, for there remains to be considered a wide range of arts, skills, and knowledge proper to the gentleman for full proficiency in his new rôle of courtier and "governor." It may be well briefly to recall the fact that the sixteenth century saw a profound change in the status of the nobility. Their prerogatives as feudal magnates had been largely destroyed owing to the development of the jurisdiction and the civil administration of the kings. Their castles were no longer tenable against the attack of cannon. The feudal battle array had been displaced by armies of infantry bearing pikes, bows, and muskets. Indeed, the old feudal nobility itself was passing, and new men, drawn from the middle class, held many of the old, honorable titles and occupied baronial seat and squire's hall. The line which in former centuries had been very clear between the nobility and the Third Estate was becoming extremely tenuous. The middle class had the advantage of wealth, to which could be added cultivation through schooling and intercourse with the right people, while a country seat could be purchased and a knighthood would follow for some exceptional service performed for the

king. Thus a portion of the middle class had come to be little different in essential respects from the lesser nobility, and the common name of gentleman applied to both.

The classification of gentleman was seen, however, to be dependent upon personal qualities rather than upon any external considerations. A noble might be able to trace his lineage back through ten generations of blue blood and be a boor in society and a make-weight in the state. A merchant might count his ships by the score and yet, because of his exclusively material interest and lack of social grace, he would remain outside the pale of gentility. To be a gentleman was greatly aided by the factors of noble birth and independent circumstances, but it was a condition to be achieved by the individual — a personal rôle to be created.

It has already been observed that the Italian Renaissance took the lead, as it did in so many other respects, in defining the character and the actions of a gentleman. (See p. 370.) The work of Baldassare Castiglione, *El Cortegiano*, or *The Courtier*, was translated into Spanish, French, English, and Latin, and it has been regarded by careful students of the sixteenth century as one of the most influential books of that period. In current usage the word "courtier" has a connotation of a certain foppishness and insincerity which it did not at all possess four hundred years ago. Then it meant simply the man of the court, and was coined to describe a new type of career — that of the layman who served in the king's administration and was a part of the society which

gathered about the royal person. Sir Thomas Elyot used the word "governour" to describe the same social type, and in his name for the thing, he stressed particularly the factor of service in the commonwealth, which was not the less present in the name and meaning of "courtier." A still more common word used to describe the class was that of "gentleman," in the French, *gentilhomme*. There appeared a considerable list of English books relating to the education of a gentleman in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries following Elyot's *The Book Named the Governour*, among which may be noted Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* and Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*. Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* also deals in large part with the all-round education of members of the upper classes. Brathwaite's *The English Gentlewoman* dealt with the appropriate education of upper-class women.

The education of a gentleman. — The sixteenth century writers are all agreed that the gentleman needed to possess skill in small arms, which was to be expected since the sword and dagger were part of his ordinary dress and life was full of violence. For the development of physical strength and agility a wide variety of games and outdoor recreations was followed. Thomas Elyot recommended wrestling, swimming, running, hunting, hawking, riding the "great horse," and archery. Most of the writers agree that musical ability should be cultivated, though not too far, while they are unanimous in advising the gentlemen not to attempt wind instruments as they detracted from dignity of personal

appearance. Dancing was a necessary accomplishment for the gentleman.

The new learning was held to be a necessary part of the courtier's training and equipment, and there is no need of repeating what has already been said of the large importance of Latin in public affairs. Greek was to be learned as the language which contained the most substantial content of science and philosophy. The phase of the gentleman's education which was served through the study of the classics and the social usefulness of this training have already been discussed in the chapter preceding.

The conception of the gentleman and the proposed system of self-discipline and study which led to that condition represented an ideal just as chivalry, monastic saintliness, or perfect Latinity represented other counsels of perfection. It is chiefly interesting to us in this connection as recalling the fact that the education of the schools was by no means the entire interest of the ruling class of sixteenth century society. Indeed, Montaigne in his essay, *Of the Education of Children*, saw that in many cases the child's training in the school operated quite unfavorably to his future life in society. It made him tongue-tied and self-conscious in the social circle, and classical learning was sometimes accomplished at the expense of physical agility, skill at games, and the common resources of good fellowship.

Queen Elizabeth's Academy. — Nothing could bring home to one more forcibly the extensive range of skills and knowledge which the man of action

and affairs could find use for in the sixteenth century than the reading of *Queen Elizabeth's Academy*. This is a short sketch of a proposed system of education for the wards of court and the young nobility of England prepared by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who lost his life in mid-Atlantic while returning from a voyage of American exploration. Gilbert may be taken, along with Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Philip Sydney, as the almost perfect realization of Elyot's governor. Educated in the new learning, masters of courtesy, useful civil servants, military leaders, and at the head of any enterprise calling for daring and initiative, they represent the flower of sixteenth century nobility as Richard the Lion-Hearted or Edward the Black Prince stand for the perfect knight of medieval chivalry. If any one could speak for his times and for the education which would fit a youth of family for the full round of civil, military, and social duties which devolved upon one of his station, certainly it was Sir Humphrey Gilbert. For the reason that the sketch of an educational project contained in *Queen Elizabeth's Academy* is not generally available, it will be reproduced herewith rather fully.

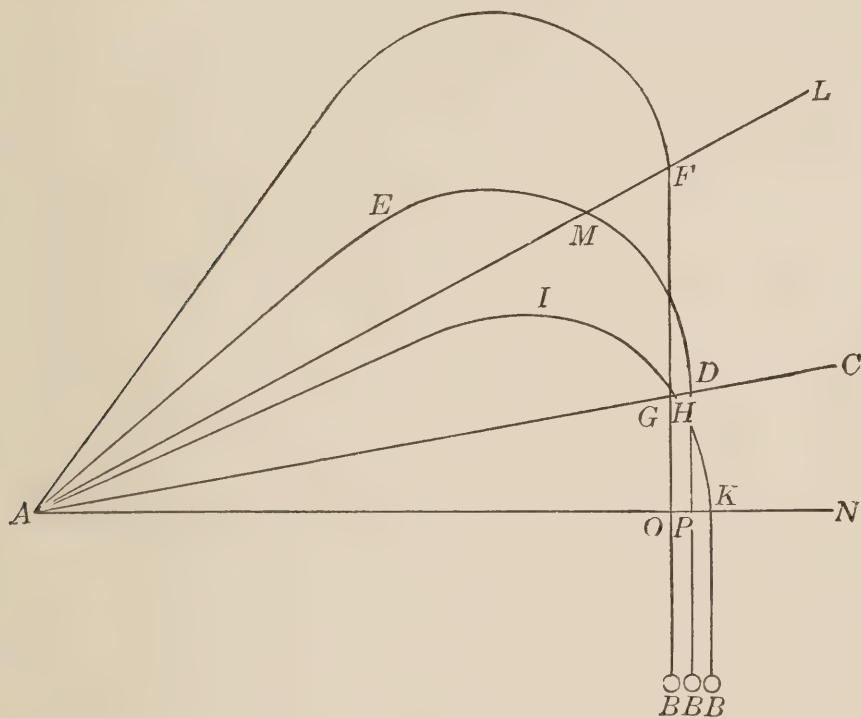
It is to be expected that at the head of the list of teachers in this projected school should appear a master and four ushers to teach Greek and Latin. Rather singularly as it would seem, there was also provided a master in Hebrew. One master was to teach jointly logic and rhetoric, with the recommendation that when the rhetorician should practice his scholars in speaking,

he shall chiefly do it in orations made in English, both political and military, taking occasions out of discourses of histories, approving or reproofing the matter, not only by reason but also with the examples and stratagems both antique and modern. For of what commodity such use of art will be in our tongue may partly be seen by the scholastical rawness of some newly come from the Universities: besides, in what language soever the learning is attained, the appliance to use is principally in the vulgar speech, as in preaching, in Parliament, in Council, in Commission, and other offices of common weal.

There was to be provided one reader of moral philosophy, who should "only read the political part thereof," or in other words there was to be a professor of political science, and evidently such a man was hard to find for he was to be paid two and a half times as much as the master of Latin and Greek. The discourses of this teacher of political science were to touch upon the various kinds of government and upon the fiscal policies of contemporary and historical states. This same teacher was to give lectures on military organization — "what manner of forces they had and have, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kinds of arming, training, and maintaining of their soldiers in every particular kind of service."

There was to be a reader of natural philosophy, presumably covering the traditional material of that field, while the provision of two masters and two assistants for teaching mathematics indicates the new utility coming to be found in that subject. One of the masters of mathematics was to teach arithmetic and geometry, which were to be "employed only to embattlements, fortifications, and

matters of war, with the practice of artillery and use of all kinds of instruments belonging to the same." The second mathematician was to read cosmography and astronomy and apply them "to the art of navigation, with the knowledge of necessary stars, making use of instruments appertaining



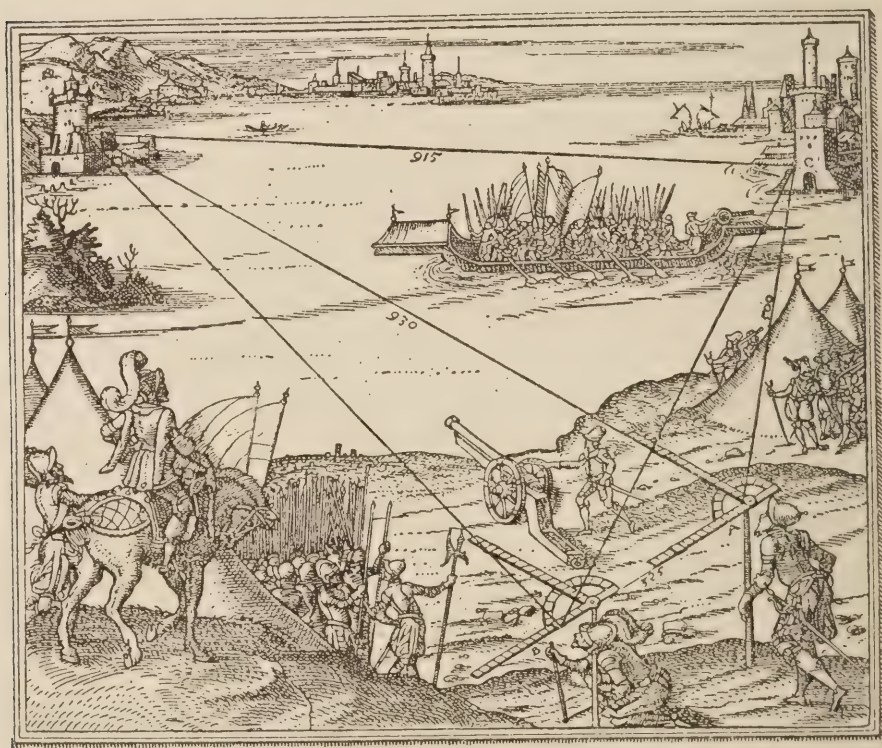
Courtesy of Professor David Eugene Smith

Fig. 66. — Mathematics applied to gunnery. The cut shows the trajectory of cannon balls fired at various angles. From Tartaglia, *Nova Scientia*, Venice, 1554.

to the same." A full-rigged model of a ship and a galley were to be at hand "to teach unto his auditory as well the knowledge and use by name of every part thereof, as also the perfect art of a shipwright." Another master was to be employed to teach map-drawing and the making of sea charts together with

the necessary rules of proportion, perspective, and mensuration.

“And there shall be entertained into the said Academy one good horseman to teach noblemen and gentlemen to ride, make and handle a ready horse, exercising them to run at ring, tilt, tourney and



Courtesy of Professor David Eugene Smith

Fig. 67. — The use of mathematics in warfare. From Leonhard Zubler's work on geometric instruments, Zurich, 1607.

course of the field, if they shall be armed.” One perfect soldier was to be employed to teach the handling of the arquebus and to practice the pupils in “all kinds of skirmishings, imbattelinges [*sic*] and sundry kinds of marchings.”

It was probably owing to the large responsibility

for keeping his men in condition when far away from the seats of civilization, which devolved upon the captain of a ship or leader of a military expedition, that led to the inclusion among the staff members of this projected institution one Doctor of Physic. It was to be his duty to read medicine and surgery on alternate days, in English, touching upon "all kinds of ulcers, sores, phistiloes, wounds, etc., together with all kinds of medicines for the same." The physician was called upon to give practical demonstrations in surgery, "because through want of learning therein we have very few good surgeons if any at all, by reason that surgery is not now to be learned in any other place than in a barber's shop."

A reader in civil law and one in divinity were provided for. Noteworthy also is the provision for a reader in common law, which was the law followed in the English courts, who was to set forth the common law in maxims and was also to "set down and teach exquisitely the office of a justice of the peace and sheriff, not meddling with pleas or cunning points of the law." The instruction was to enable the young men to put their own cases in law and to prepare them for proficiency in their probable future duties as judges of the county courts.

The advancing position of the vernaculars at the period is shown in the provision for masters of French, Italian, Spanish, and German. There was to be a master of defense who was to be expert in the use of the rapier, dagger, sword and target, the grip of the dagger, the battle-ax and the pike, and

who was also to keep a dancing and vaulting school. Further provision was made for a teacher of music, who could play on the lute, the bandora, and the zither, and for a herald of arms "who shall teach noblemen and gentlemen to blaze arms and also the art of heraldry." A library was to be provided to which perforce every new book should make its way.

While the plan of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was never put into operation in England, it is concretely illustrative of the wide range of sciences and skills which the leaders of society were finding serviceable and which they had to master by one means or another. It also serves to show how small a part of the total preparation for life which was necessary to the gentleman in the sixteenth century the humanistic school was able to supply. It is little to be wondered at that much the same sort of institution which Gilbert proposed was established at Tübingen in 1589, the *Collegium Illustre*, and another at Cassel in 1599, the *Collegium Mauritianum*. The adoption of French as the international language in the seventeenth century and the rapid development of the physical sciences in the same period weakened the position of the humanistic school and led to numerous foundations of "Courtly Academies" which followed in many important details and certainly in spirit the educational institution sketched out by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Further consideration of this type of school may be postponed until the whole range of seventeenth century life comes into view.

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A BACKWARD AND A FORWARD GLANCE

THE narrative with which this book has been concerned has dealt predominantly with the creation, the flowering, the decline, and the recovery of the materials of classical culture. It has described the production in Greece during a few richly creative centuries of an intellectual and artistic heritage which passed into the Latin culture and thence into the history of modern European peoples. It has recounted the development in Rome of a legal and administrative system which in later centuries became the example to Europe of wise judicial procedure and orderly civil government. It has followed the elaboration in the Graeco-Roman world of the materials and administrative organization of a system of education which was adequate for a highly developed civilization. In its pages the Christian Church has taken form along lines of approved Roman administration and the Christian religion has made its adjustments to the intellectual fashions of the early centuries of the Christian era.

With this threefold heritage completely formed — the heritage of Greek science and art and education, Roman law and government, and the Christian church and its creed — the great tidal wave of barbarian Teutonic tribesmen out of the northern forests has been seen overflowing the lands which had borne

so fair a civilization. The church, as the only surviving agency of light and order in an age of social anarchy and intellectual depression, has been observed as keeping Europe in faltering and uncertain touch with that all-but-forgotten past. The slow development of orderly government among the peoples of Europe, the rebirth of commerce and industry, and the revival of law and learning, have been described until finally, in the sixteenth century Europe was seen to have progressed to the point of economic and political recovery at which it could utilize to the fullest extent the legacy from classical antiquity.

It would be a great error to say that with the sixteenth century the influence of the classical heritage was at an end. It continued for long to be the dominant factor in secondary and higher education. It served as the model for the development of vernacular literatures. It served as the schoolmaster of modern philosophers and political scientists. Indeed, it has never ceased to be an important part of the intellectual treasury of the Western World. However, from the sixteenth century on, the authority of the ancients became progressively less absolute. The prestige of a scientific method newly discovered, or rediscovered, at about the beginning of the seventeenth century quickly became greater than that of famous names and traditional wisdom, and ultimately the development and application of that method were to give to thinking men a knowledge of themselves and of the physical universe which would cause the reconsideration of many accepted points of view. The progress of modern literatures

in the sixteenth century and thereafter added much to the resources of the reading public. The brilliance of French culture and the aggressiveness of French political policies in the seventeenth century brought about the substitution of French for Latin as the language of international intercourse. Thoughtful reflection upon contemporary events and existing social institutions created the materials of a new political science, and new philosophies more in accord with the discoveries and methods of physical science tended to displace the great systems by which the attitudes and beliefs of Christendom had been controlled for fourteen centuries and more.

It seems convenient, therefore, to interrupt the story of the development of Western education with the close of the sixteenth century, a time when the classical heritage had been completely recovered and when its influence in modern education was most nearly absolute.

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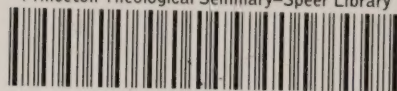
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